JOB SATISFACTION IN THE WORK CULTURE
OF THE SUCCESSFUL OVERSEAS TEACHER

By

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The study was a qualitative investigation of the applicability of

certain job satisfaction and motivation theories attributed to

Frederick Herzberg, George Homans, Victor Vroom, and other

researchers, with regard to the work life and satisfaction of teachers

in American schools outside the United States. Structured interviews

were conducted in Asia, Europe, and the United States with 57 teacher-

informants who had worked in a total of 56 overseas schools. Four

research questions were addressed. What personal characteristics did

successful overseas teachers have in common? What factors in the

overseas living environment contributed to job satisfaction? What

factors in the overseas work environment contributed to job

satisfaction? To what degree were the expressed work attitudes

consistent with a set of propositions distilled from research on job

satisfaction in general and on job satisfaction among U.S. public

school teachers in particular?

A review of the literature revealed that job satisfaction is primarily determined by the perceived equity of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards in the work environment. Of particular importance are intrinsic rewards for achievement, autonomy, recognition, and positive affiliation.

Using the propositions to focus the study, data collected from the interviews were analyzed. Findings suggested that most of the informants could be characterized by two commonalities. They were generally married to other overseas teachers. Their attitudes reflected self-confidence and a value for change and new experiences.

The findings suggested that the living environment of the international schools provided sources of job satisfaction not commonly found in U.S. public schools, particularly with regard to recognition and affiliation. The nature of the overseas clientele, the nature of the schools, and certain climate variables common to overseas schools contributed to job satisfaction beyond what informants perceived to be common in the United States.

The findings were consistent with the theoretical propositions describing the general nature of job satisfaction, but were inconsistent with the propositions specifically describing the nature of job satisfaction in stateside public schools. Strategies to maintain job satisfaction for overseas teachers with an implied applicability to other teaching environments were suggested.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

In many of the world's major cities outside of the United States there are private schools, organized on a United States public school model, to serve expatriate Americans as well as children from many other countries. Several thousand American trained teachers have been recruited by these schools to teach abroad. Although the work experience of these teachers is similar to that of public school teachers in the United States, the differences in environment, student populations, and other qualities of the work, contrast sharply with the U.S. experience.

The primary intent of this investigation was the determination of characteristics of successful U.S. recruited teachers in this environment, their work attitudes with regard to job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction, and the extent to which the work attitudes of these teachers were consistent with a series of propositions derived from the research literature on work attitudes and job satisfaction in the United States. Specifically, the investigator attempted to answer the following four questions:

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1. To what extent are there differences and commonalities among the successful overseas teachers in regard to the following personal characteristics: age, sex, marital status, racial background, previous work and travel experience, expectations when accepting an overseas position, geographical home in the United States, and psychological type as measured on the Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) (Briggs & Myers, 1977)?

2. What experiential aspects of living in an overseas setting contribute to the positive and negative work attitudes of successful U.S.-recruited teachers?

3. What factors related to the work experience in an overseas school contribute to the positive and negative work attitudes of successful U.S.-recruited teachers?

4. To what extent are the factors perceived by the successful U.S.-recruited teachers as contributing to their positive and negative job attitudes consistent with the set of propositions derived from the writings of well-known theorists such as Maslow (1943, 1954, 1965), McClelland (1965, 1984), Herzberg (1966), Adams (1965), Homans (1950), Vroom (1964, 1982), and Hersey and Blanchard (1977), whose research concerned attitudes and motivation in the workplace?

Background for the Study

Although references to American education usually bring to mind only the public and private schools within the United States, there are hundreds of schools abroad which offer essentially the same

curriculum. These schools might be classified into two categories: the United States Department of Defense schools for military dependents and those that, for the purposes of this study, can be labeled the American/International schools.

The Department of Defense Dependents System (DODDS) differs little from a typical U.S. school district. Although it encompasses 20 countries, the system is controlled by a unified bureaucracy within the federal government. The clientele consists, almost exclusively, of U.S. citizens. The DODDS schools are located on or near U.S. government installations and, consequently, in an environment similar to their U.S. public school counterparts. With certain exceptions for special subjects, their teaching staffs are comprised entirely of United States citizens who are subject to the same procedures and regulations found in other government jobs. In terms of enrollment the DODDS system is the 11th largest U.S. school district (Walling, 1985).

Somewhat different is a group of private American curriculum institutions known as the American/International schools. They are less well known in the United States, possibly because each operates as an independent entity. Most are small and cater to a less homogeneous population than do the DODDS schools. Most American/International schools were originally founded to provide the equivalent of an American public school education for the dependents

of American businessmen, missionaries, and/or diplomatic personnel
posted outside the United States. Because the level of education they
are able to provide is often superior to locally available
alternatives, these particular overseas schools have attracted third
country nationals and, where not prohibited by law, host country
nationals as well (United States Department of State Office of
Overseas Schools (A/OS) Fact Sheet, 1984–85).

The American/International schools differ in several ways. Their
enrollments range from less than 20 to over 2000 students (United
States Department of State Office of Overseas Schools (A/OS) Fact
Sheet, 1984–85). The number of students who are U.S. citizens varies
from school to school. In some cases, upwards of 70% of the clientele
are U.S. citizens, in others less than 10% (International Schools
Services, 1984–85). Some American/International schools have been in
existence for about 100 years, but most are products of the post-World
War II expansion of United States business and government agencies
(International Schools Services, 1984–85).

There are also differences in sponsorship. Although the
American/International schools were all developed to provide an
American education to expatriate children, some were founded by
missionaries, others by large corporations (often in remote areas),
and some through the cooperative efforts of business and diplomatic
personnel in foreign cities (United States Department of State Office

of Overseas Schools (A/OS) Fact Sheet, 1984–85). In 1986, most of these schools enrolled a cross-section of students, but the nature of the original sponsorship contributes to the character of each individual school (G. Parsons, Executive Secretary, Association for the Advancement of International Education (AAIE), personal communication, July 15, 1986).

The American/International schools also have enough similarities to allow one to consider them as an entity. In addition to their common goals and purposes, they share a basically American curriculum. Books and other curricular materials are for the most part published in and transported from the United States and course offerings are similar from school to school. Extracurricular and supplementary activities often mirror those found in stateside schools (United States Department of State Office of Overseas Schools (A/OS) Fact Sheet, 1984–85).

Faculty members are generally U.S. citizens and U.S. educated. This becomes increasingly true in the more-difficult-to-fill subject areas and in the administrative positions. As a result, instructional methods reflect their United States antecedents (United States Department of State Office of Overseas Schools (A/OS) Fact Sheet, 1984–85).

The governance of most American/International schools is vested in boards of directors locally elected by parents who have children in

the respective schools. In some cases a portion of the board is appointed by the sponsoring agency or the ranking U.S. government representative. Typically, the board hires a headmaster or superintendent to administer the school program (United States Department of State Office of Overseas Schools (A/OS) Fact Sheet, 1984-85).

Two characteristics of the American/International schools provide them with a high degree of autonomy. Their governance is locally-based with no interference from state departments of education and other regulatory agencies. In addition, the effects of teachers' unions are very limited (G. Parsons, AAIE, personal communication, July 15, 1986).

Most of the school community parents are working abroad in upper level managerial positions for government or business. Because their own positions are the result of advanced training, these parents place a high emphasis on the value of education for their children. That attitude is reflected in a high level of parental involvement and interest (R. Ferguson, A/OS Regional Education Officer, personal communication, July 18, 1986).

Because the children of so many expatriates attend the American/International schools, the schools often become focal points in the lives of a large segment of the expatriate community. In less-developed countries the school may be the site of the most

sophisticated recreational facility in the city. The schools
therefore become not only educational centers for the community, but
recreational and social centers as well (G. Parsons, AAIE, personal
communication, July 15, 1986).

U.S. State Department Assisted Schools

Of the more than 300 schools listed in the International Schools
Services Directory of Overseas Schools which can be classified as
American/International schools, 169 receive logistical and, to a
limited degree, financial assistance from the United States
government. This aid is distributed via the United States Department
of State Office of Overseas Schools (A/OS).

A/OS was created during the Kennedy administration to assure that
overseas schools could provide expatriate children with an education
comparable to the standards found in the United States. A/OS sponsors
categorical assistance for teacher inservice, for consultants, for
partnerships with United States universities and school districts, and
for budgetary supplements for equipment and salaries. All these
efforts are designed to further the American character of the schools
as well as to improve the quality of education (R. Ferguson, A/OS,
personal communication, July 18, 1986).

As with their public school counterparts in the United States, a
key to the success of the overseas schools lies in the quality of
their classroom teachers. However, because of the differences in

structure among the separate American/International schools and among the several environments in which they operate, there are significant differences between the overseas teacher's job and that of the typical teacher in the U.S.

The Overseas Teacher

Of approximately 9,000 teachers employed by the A/OS-sponsored American/International schools, over half are United States citizens educated in United States colleges and universities (United States Department of State Office of Overseas Schools (A/OS) Fact Sheet, 1984-85). This group consists of U.S.-recruited teachers, those who were hired directly from the United States for the express purpose of teaching abroad, and of locally-hired spouses of expatriate American workers. This is an important distinction. The U.S.-recruited teachers are abroad for the express purpose of teaching. Thus, their stability is more certain than that of the locally-hired faculty whose spouse may be transferred mid-year (R. Ferguson, A/OS, personal communication, July 18, 1986).

In addition, the expatriate spouses who teach often have obligations beyond their teaching. In many cases they have representational duties tied to the work of the member of the family who does not teach and whose work is the primary reason the family is in the overseas post. Because of these outside responsibilities, these teachers are often less willing and/or less able to devote the

same time to the school that is expected of the U.S.-recruited teachers. Consequently, the U.S.-recruited staff usually assume or are assigned more often to extracurricular responsibilities. These duties involve them with the students and parents in a variety of roles outside of the classroom (G. Parsons, personal communication, July 15, 1986).

Furthermore, because there are fewer expatriate spouses who are qualified in specialist areas, the U.S.-recruited teachers are more often those who teach subjects such as mathematics, science, physical education, and music. Given these responsibilities, it is not surprising that the U.S.-recruited staff become the instructional core of many American/International school faculties (G. Parsons, personal communication, July 15, 1986).

As suggested by the above description, the role of the U.S.-recruited teacher is a demanding one which requires adaptation to unique living and working conditions. The study focused on teachers who have made these adaptations successfully in more than one overseas school. Both the personal characteristics of the individual teachers and their perceptions of how the living and working environment in the overseas school communities influenced their attitudes toward their jobs were examined.

The Conceptual Framework

The reason for examining the personal characteristics of the successful overseas teachers was to determine whether they were in any

way unique in comparison to their U.S.-based counterparts. In examining the overseas teachers' attitudes toward their work it was important to know whether these attitudes resulted from the uniqueness of the population under study or from the unique characteristics in the work and living environment.

In terms of the major thrust of this study (an examination of the work attitudes of these teachers) the conceptual framework was derived from the writings of Abraham Maslow (1943, 1954), David McClelland (1965, 1984), Frederick Herzberg (1966), Stacy Adams (1965), George Homans (1950), Victor Vroom (1964, 1982), and Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard (1977). Each of these men is recognized for one of several theories regarding work attitudes.

Each of these seven theoretical positions offers distinct explanations of the related concepts of work motivation and work attitudes. Abraham Maslow, and others who have expanded on his ideas, explained motivation in terms of a hierarchy of human needs. They suggested that basic needs for safety and sustenance, once satisfied, give way to higher order needs such as esteem, recognition, and self-actualization (Maslow, 1954).

David McClelland is credited with perhaps the most comprehensive of a set of theories which explain motivation primarily in terms of a need to achieve. These achievement-motivation theories suggest that the competitive urge to reach a standard of excellence is a primary source of motivation (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953).

Frederick Herzberg was the first to propose a motivation-hygiene theory to explain work attitudes. His writings suggested that the presence or absence of work factors associated with the context of the job, the hygiene factors, could explain job dissatisfaction but not satisfaction. Work content factors or motivators, such as recognition and opportunities for advancement, were described by Herzberg as satisfiers which could motivate workers (Herzberg, Mausner, & Snydermann, 1959).

Stacy Adams is prominent among several theorists who argued that "the major determinant of job satisfaction is the degree of equity or inequity that an individual perceives in a work situation" (Steers & Porter, 1975, p. 135). The "equity" theorists focused not on the inputs to the work environment, as the previously cited authors had done, but on the processes by which work was initiated and sustained (Steers & Porter, 1975, p. 136).

In a manner similar to the equity theorists, George Homans explained job attitudes in terms of group processes. He suggested that job satisfaction was one of many social processes that could be analyzed in terms of norms arising from three elements common to all groups: human interaction, human activities, and human sentiments (Homans, 1950).

Victor Vroom is the person most often associated with yet another set of process-oriented theories: the expectancy/valence theories.

Vroom suggested that human work behavior and attitudes are a function
of the interaction between the value one attributes to a specific work
outcome (valence) and the expectancy, on the part of the worker, that
certain work behaviors will result in that outcome (Vroom, 1964).

Several process-oriented theories of leadership can be related to
job satisfaction. Among these is the situational leadership theory
proposed by Hersey and Blanchard (1977). These theorists posited that
effective leadership style depends on the maturity level of the
worker. The theorists further implied that inappropriate styles in
relation to the respective worker's maturity can result in job
dissatisfaction.

There has been a diversity of explanations offered by experts to
explain the interrelated concepts of job attitude, job satisfaction,
and job motivation. For this reason an eclectic approach to the
conceptual framework for this study seemed reasonable. In order to
develop some consistent whole from the writings of the foregoing, a
series of propositions which can be logically traced to one or more of
these theoreticians mentioned above was derived from the literature
and used as a basis for providing some kind of analytical framework.

Justification for the Study

The primary justification for the study was that it might add to
the very limited body of knowledge available about the work attitudes
of a significant segment of society's service workers: classroom

teachers. There is a considerable amount of research available in regard to work attitude and motivation. However, this research has been mostly confined to workers in corporate settings and, to a lesser extent, to workers in municipal settings.

If one regards teaching as an evolving profession in an evolving service economy, then teachers represent a segment of the working population that has been studied in only a limited fashion in this regard. Much of the recent research on teachers in the workplace has been directed at what is popularly referred to as "teacher burnout," (see Cedoline, 1982; Cherniss, 1980; Duke, 1984) and has emphasized the dissatisfying aspects of the teaching occupation. The present researcher addressed teacher work attitudes from a different perspective and sought sources of both positive and negative attitudes.

Furthermore, this study is unique in its contribution because it dealt with teachers in overseas school settings. The job attitudes and motivation of overseas teachers have not previously been studied. The present research was designed to contribute not only to the knowledge base regarding teacher motivation, but more particularly to the knowledge base as it concerns the overseas teacher. The findings may add to or reinforce previous findings in the general fields of work motivation or teacher motivation. They may also clarify the relationship of these attitudes to the nature of the job setting.

The second major justification for the study resides in its practical applications for the overseas school administrator.

Overseas schools, in the absence of other service agencies, are called upon to provide many services in the expatriate community. Persons hired exclusively as teachers in overseas schools form not only the instructional core of their faculties, but also are depended upon to implement extracurricular and community programs.

Given the demanding prerequisites of such a position, the high financial and instructional costs of making a poor choice at the time of employment, and the unique nature of the overseas school, administrators must be able to make accurate predictions regarding which teacher candidates will be successful. This research will assist in recruiting decisions, identifying factors that may affect positive and negative job attitudes, and identifying the characteristics of teachers who have found success in their jobs.

A third justification resides in the study's practical value to aspiring overseas teachers. Recent competition among U.S.-recruited personnel for teaching positions in overseas schools has been intense, even though vacancies are not highly advertised (G. Parsons, personal communication, July 15, 1986). Overseas education may provide an interesting, challenging, and potentially rewarding alternative to a career in the public schools for both beginning and experienced teachers. By identifying the attitudes successful overseas teachers have toward their work, and the factors that characterize successful teachers in this work environment, the study should prove to be a

valuable source of information to those teachers considering overseas positions.

Research Perspective: An Overview

Since the data available on both successful overseas teachers and the overseas schools themselves are very limited, the study was seen as a pioneering effort for which a qualitative approach would be most appropriate. Specifically, the research was conducted within the framework of the ethnographic interview as developed by Spradley (1979).

Ethnographies always imply the presence of a culture. The work culture of the U.S.-recruited teacher and the factors contributing to work attitudes and work satisfaction in that culture are described in this dissertation. To best identify and accurately describe a culture, one must investigate it through the perceptions of its members, not those of the researcher. Patton (1980), in a text on qualitative methodology, stated that "the strategy of qualitative research is to allow the important dimensions to emerge from analysis of the cases under study, without presupposing in advance what those important dimensions will be" (p. 41).

The researcher has participated in the overseas schools culture, both as a teacher and an administrator. This was an advantage for the researcher had enough knowledge to be able to focus on the important dimensions of the culture and to ask pertinent questions. It was also

a disadvantage since he might overlook important dimensions because he may have been too familiar with them.

The research was conducted from a phenomenologist point of view as defined by Bogdan and Taylor (1984). These authors stated that "the task of the phenomenologist and the qualitative methodologist, is to capture the process of interpretation. . . . The phenomenologist attempts to see things from other people's point of view" (p. 9). It is the point of view of the successful U.S.-recruited teacher overseas that the researcher attempted to capture.

The ethnographic interview (Spradley, 1979) is grounded in the concept of symbolic interactionism, a process which emphasizes the social meanings a person gives to the environment. The assumptions underlying qualitative enquiry, the ethnographic interview, and symbolic interactionism are described more fully in Chapter IV.

Delimitations and Limitations

Delimiting Factors

The following delimitations apply to the investigation.

1. The study was confined to 57 teacher nominees who met the following criteria.

    a. Each teacher, and/or the spouse of a nominated teacher who may or may not have met fully the selection criteria, nominated by more than one overseas administrator as having successfully adapted to both the living and working situation in an overseas school.

    b. Each teacher had worked in more than one overseas school or had worked in one overseas school for a significant period of time with more than one administrator.

    2. Data gathering was confined to two sources: personal interviews with the nominees, modeled on the ethnographic interview method as described by Spradley (1979), and to the results of the Myers Briggs Type Indicator (Briggs & Myers, 1977) for each informant.

    3. The study was confined to data gathered about personal characteristics of these teachers and their perceptions regarding the positive and negative attributes of their work and living environments.

    4. Analysis of the data was confined to descriptive analysis as described in The Ethnographic Interview (Spradley, 1979). It dealt only with the teachers' personal characteristics and work motivation with regard to living and working conditions within the overseas school environment and with a logical analysis of the relationship between the results of the investigation and the propositions logically derived from the literature.

Limiting Factors

    The following limitations apply to the study.

    1. The researcher has been an active participant in overseas education both as a teacher and as an administrator. This experience may have influenced his perspective.

2. The data collection was limited to the verbal recall of teachers in interview sessions of approximately two hours.

3. Although similar in many ways, the schools represented in this study varied in terms of size, location, student body composition, and the benefits available to employees.

4. Overseas teaching may attract a type of individual which is atypical of the teaching population at large.

5. In reference to verbal reporting of job satisfiers and dissatisfiers, it has been shown that respondents more often attribute positive factors to themselves and negative factors to the environment (Vroom, 1964), thus influencing the validity of the interview method used. For this reason, a distinction must be made in the study between respondents' perceptions and fact.

Definition of Terms

In order to facilitate the reading of this study the following key terms and concepts are defined.

Affiliation rewards are defined as those sources of job satisfaction which emanate from the social interactions within the workplace. These can be categorized as harmonious relations with peers, clients, and superiors.

Equity in rewards is another source of job satisfaction. Equity occurs when the teacher perceives that the skills, experience, effort, and other qualities he or she brings to the work are rewarded at an

appropriate level. Appropriateness is determined in relation to the worker's perceptions of others in the same job or another, who bring differing degrees of these same qualities to their work.

Informants are defined as those participants in the study who met the selection criteria and were subsequently interviewed by the researcher. An important distinction should be made between informants as opposed to the terms "subjects," "respondents," or "actors." In keeping with the nature of the ethnographic interview as described by Spradley (1979), the study was conducted with no specific hypothesis to test, and the participants are not "subjects" in the social scientist's use of that term. Likewise, since the informants played a descriptive role, as opposed to responding to a set of fixed questions or a questionnaire, they were not to be considered "respondents." They were not being observed in their work environment for analysis, so they were not "actors."

Motivation is defined as the process by which internal forces energize human behavior, channel and direct that behavior, and maintain it (Steers & Porter, 1975).

Professional achievement is defined as those sources of job satisfaction which emanate from the teacher's perception that he or she has accomplished personal or organizational goals. The term encompasses satisfaction due to actual growth in the teacher, as measured by demonstrable acquisition of new skills and/or positions of greater responsibility and control.

Professional autonomy is defined as a source of job satisfaction which emanates from the teacher's perceptions of the degree to which he or she exerts control over the work. Autonomy provides the ownership necessary to internalize achievement.

Professional recognition is defined as a source of job satisfaction emanating from the teacher's perceptions that others are aware of his or her accomplishments and worth. When this recognition is internalized, it constitutes self-esteem. When it is externalized, it represents status.

Propositions are defined as a series of assertions, logically derived from the collective writings of theorists in the fields of work attitudes and work motivation. The major ideas expressed by these theorists in explaining job satisfaction and work motivation are summarized and distilled in these propositions.

Teacher characteristics or personal characteristics are both defined in terms of the following attributes in references to the collective body of informants contacted for this study:

    a. Age is defined as the age, to the nearest birthday, of the informants at the time they first contracted for an overseas teaching position.

    b. Educational background is defined as the respective amount of education above the secondary level and the major field of both undergraduate and graduate study for informants at the time they first contracted for an overseas teaching position.

c. <u>Expectations regarding overseas employment</u> are defined as the narrative accounts of informants regarding their initial expectations for overseas living and working situations at the time they first accepted an overseas teaching contract.

d. <u>Family size</u> is defined as the number of dependents accompanying the informant abroad at the time of his or her first overseas contract.

e. <u>Geographical home</u> is defined as the section of the United States: east, midwest, south, or west in which the informant spent the greatest portion of the formative years from age 6 to 17.

f. <u>Marital status</u> is defined as the status of the informant at the time a first overseas contract was accepted.

g. <u>Race</u> is defined as whether the informant is of Caucasian or other extraction.

h. <u>Previous travel experience</u> is defined as the degree to which informants had lived or traveled outside the United States prior to accepting their first overseas teaching contract.

i. <u>Previous work experience</u> is defined as the work positions, both in and out of education, that the informant had held previous to accepting the first overseas contract.

j. <u>Thinking preference</u> is defined as the informants indicator of personality type as characterized by the results of the administration of the Myers Briggs Type Indicator (Briggs & Myers, 1977).

k. <u>Sex</u> is defined as whether the informant is male or female.

<u>Work</u> is defined as a required activity, done for pay (Shertzer, 1977).

<u>Work attitudes and job attitudes</u> are defined as those tendencies or orientations, on the part of workers, to respond either negatively and positively toward people, objects, or situations in their work environment. "Attitudes are acquired through learning, but rarely involve thinking, as opposed to a belief, which is the acceptance of an idea or statement that one knows to be true or false from personal experience" (Shertzer, 1977, p. 39). Positive attitudes toward work are conceptually equivalent to job satisfaction. Negative attitudes are equivalent to job dissatisfaction (Vroom, 1964, p. 99).

<u>Work motivation</u> is defined as the process by which desired work behavior is initiated, channeled, and maintained (Steers & Porter, 1975).

<u>Work satisfaction and job satisfaction</u> are equivalent terms defined as the degree to which positive and negative attitudes related to work or work-related experiences combine to produce a composite attitude in regard to the total work experience that is more positive than negative. Elements of a positive work experience include the following: liking the tasks required for the job, liking the conditions under which the work is done, and liking the psychic and material rewards that are earned for doing the job (Shertzer, 1977).

These attitudes also reflect aspects of the nonwork environment, and personal characteristics and values of the worker. Job

satisfaction is the worker's judgment of how well the activities, events, and conditions that make up the job and surrounding living environment, meet his or her needs (Locke, 1969; Shertzer, 1977).

Work dissatisfaction or job dissatisfaction are defined as the degree to which the same elements interact to produce a composite attitude in the worker that is more negative than positive.

Organization of the Remainder of the Report

To place the study in the context of previous research on similar topics, the researcher uses Chapter II to present a summary of research and theory related to work attitudes and job satisfaction in the United States.

In Chapter III the literature related to job attitude, job satisfaction, and job motivation, specifically in regard to teaching is reviewed. The chapter concludes with a set of propositions or assertions, derived from the research and theoretical writings examined in Chapter II, as applied to the specific topic of job attitudes in teaching. These propositions served as the theoretical framework by which the information collected with regard to the overseas teacher was compared to the job attitudes of teachers in the United States.

Chapter IV contains a detailed discussion of the methodology through which the study was conducted. Choice of the qualitative approach, the selection of subjects for the interview, the development

of the interview format, and the methodology for analyzing the data are explained.

Chapter V contains the interview data collected to answer the first research question: To what extent are there similarities and differences with regard to the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of this group of overseas teachers? Chapter VI contains the findings with regard to the second research question: What experiential factors in the living situation in an American/ International school community contribute to job satisfaction? In Chapter VII, the third research question regarding the effect of the working situation on job satisfaction in an American/International school is discussed.

In Chapter VIII, the fourth research question concerning the relationship between the collected data discussed in Chapters V, VI, and VII and the propositions derived from the literature reviewed in Chapters II and III is addressed. Chapter IX contains a summary and the conclusions of the research. It concentrates on how the four questions posited earlier in this introduction might be of use to the reader of this dissertation.

CHAPTER II
A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ON JOB SATISFACTION

Historical Context

Interest in why and how individuals find satisfaction in certain situations can be traced to the Greek philosophical principle of hedonism (Steers & Porter, 1975; Vroom, 1964). "Individuals tend to seek pleasure and avoid pain, [and hedonism] assumes a certain degree of conscious behavior on the part of individuals, whereby they make intentional decisions concerning their future actions" (Steers & Porter, 1975, p. 9).

During the latter part of the 19th century, at about the same time as large industrial organizations began to supplant agriculture as the basis for western economies, theories regarding work satisfaction and motivation moved from a philosophical context to that of psychology (Steers & Porter, 1975). In part this may have been due to an interest in work motivation arising from the organizational literature of the time.

Traditional thinking of this era might be best exemplified by the writings of Frederick Taylor. In his book Scientific Management: The Principles of Scientific Management (1911), Taylor assumed that workers almost exclusively derived their job satisfaction from

extrinsic rewards, such as salary. An alternative viewpoint was first proffered by Mary Parker Follett (1924), who suggested that work motivation was essentially a function of human relations within an organization.

Follett's ideas were given greater credibility by the results of the Hawthorne Electric studies conducted by Elton Mayo in the late 1920s. In publishing his studies, Mayo (1933) concluded that workers were motivated by the intrinsic rewards relating to the job and the quality of the job situation, as much, if not more so, than they were by extrinsic factors.

The first major work specifically addressed to job satisfaction itself was published by Robert Hoppock in 1935, perhaps not coincidentally just a few years after the Hawthorne Electric studies. Hoppock's (1935) study was important for several reasons. It was comprehensive. Although subsequent researchers did much to clarify the relationship among the elements which contribute to job satisfaction, Hoppock was able to identify most of these variables, and to identify the fact that they contributed in different ways, relative to the individual and to the job. Furthermore, since his conclusions were quite similar to more recent findings, especially in consideration of the environmental and social changes which have occurred in the intervening 50 years, Hoppock's research provided a starting point from which to trace the development of later findings.

Hoppock's research was conducted in a Pennsylvania mining community in the midst of the "Great Depression," and the sample included independently employed professionals, teachers, and workers from a variety of blue-collar occupations.

Hoppock concluded that there were degrees of job satisfaction, and that to try to analyze it through any single variable would be an over-simplification. He conceptualized job satisfaction as a function of the worker's on-the-job experiences, combined with personal characteristics and experiences outside the job. He suggested that this combination led to a composite attitude toward the total work experience which, in total, was either satisfying or dissatisfying.

Hoppock found that the status accorded one's work, relative to both the remainder of the profession and to society as a whole, was another good predictor of satisfaction. One's status within the profession was the stronger of the two predictors. As an example, Hoppock suggested that being known as an excellent butcher among butchers was a greater source of job satisfaction than being recognized as a butcher in relation to other occupations.

Hoppock concluded that satisfaction regarding status derived from the pay of the job was relative to the socioeconomic background of the worker. For example, a minority messenger boy earning $20 a week was perceived as more satisfied than a Harvard-educated lawyer who might earn many times that amount, but still less than others in his or her peer group.

Hoppock also concluded that a person's age, religion, and orientation toward work were correlated with job satisfaction. He found that older workers in an occupation tended to be more satisfied, but he qualified that conclusion with the possibility that either the less satisfied had previously changed jobs, or that the older workers had resigned themselves to their work after finding few realistic alternatives. Hoppock concluded that religion had a similar effect, providing a person with a fatalistic attitude which promoted a cheerful acceptance of one's present situation. Strong interest in one's work was significantly correlated with satisfaction when the worker was involved in a challenging task.

According to Hoppock, several job conditions influenced job satisfaction: a worker's relation with supervisors and associates, the size of the community in which the work took place, the degree of monotony and fatigue associated with the job, the quality of feedback regarding success on the job, and the difficulty of the tasks involved. Hoppock also found that the degree to which these variables influenced job satisfaction was dependent on other conditions. For example, two workers were found to derive different levels of satisfaction from their interaction with the same supervisor, presumably to the degree to which their personalities were congruent with that individual. Feelings of success were found to be relative to the needs a worker expected to be fulfilled by the job. Task

difficulty was relative to the worker's abilities. If the task outstripped ability, the worker became dissatisfied through frustration. If the task was too easy relative to ability, the worker became dissatisfied because of boredom.

Hoppock concluded that job satisfaction might not be separable from satisfaction with life in general. He found that most of the workers in his study were, for the most part, satisfied with their jobs and, contrary to the assumptions made by Taylor (1911), they often derived greater satisfaction from work than from leisure activities. However, he concluded that the 5% of the work force which actively disliked their jobs, in themselves, justified further study on the subject.

Hoppock summarized his findings with six major conclusions. First, the personal characteristics of emotional stability, health, and early environmental background seemed to be major contributors toward one's job satisfaction. Second, job satisfaction was determined in part by the manner in which one adjusted to other persons, whether on or off the job. Third, the status of the individual, compared to others of the social group with which the worker identified, was a component of job satisfaction. Such status might be established by salary, by individual skills, or by changing one's social contacts.

Fourth, Hoppock concluded that job satisfaction was a function of the match between the nature of the work and the worker's preparation,

skills, and interests. Fifth, job satisfaction was determined by the degree to which the job fulfilled the perceived social and economic needs of the individual. It is important to draw attention to the fact that Hoppock found that satisfaction was dependent on the worker's perception, even if that perception did not match reality. If a worker perceived a certain salary as fulfilling his or her needs, a high salary by anyone else's standards was unlikely to result in satisfaction.

Sixth, Hoppock described what he referred to as one's "loyalty," or need to do something for others, as a significant contributor to the job satisfaction process. It would seem that he was trying here to include personal values and the personality and orientation components referred to earlier.

Since the 1930s there have been several thousand further pieces of research investigating job satisfaction (Ashbaugh, 1984; Locke, 1969). The construct was originally of interest because of its presumed relationship to productivity. However, the degree to which that presumption is applicable has been convincingly challenged by Brayfield and Crockett (1955) and Vroom (1964). A review of their research leads one to conclude that there is indeed a positive relationship between satisfaction and performance, but that this relationship is smaller and more complex than previously thought (Pritchard & Peters, 1974).

More recent studies in the field, particularly from about 1960 to the mid-1970s, have shifted from efforts to explain productivity through satisfaction, to an attempt to identify the causes of job satisfaction. This has come to be recognized as a worthwhile subject for study in its own right (see Lawler, 1975; Locke, 1969). Brayfield and Crockett (1955) justified this research as follows:

> It would seem worthwhile to study the causes, correlates, and consequences of job satisfaction per se. It seems possible that conditions conducive to job satisfaction will have an effect on the quality of the workman drawn into the industry, the quality of performance, and the harmony of labor--management relations. Such potential correlates, among others, merit exploration. (p. 421)

Since the mid-1970s research on job satisfaction has continued, but generally in conjunction with other topics. References to job satisfaction are found within the literature regarding organizational climate, employee burnout, professionalism and job status, and employee efficacy. These references are also prevalent in theoretical analyses of job motivation.

Job satisfaction and job motivation can not be considered independently. This is due to the hedonistic origins of both constructs. In developing a theory of motivation, Vroom (1982) stated the following:

> The study of motivation by psychologists has largely been directed toward filling in the missing empirical content in hedonism. As in the hedonistic doctrine, people are assumed to behave in ways that maximize certain kinds of outcomes (rewards, satisfiers, positive reinforcements, etc.) and to minimize other outcomes (punishments, dissatisfiers, negative reinforcements, etc.). (p. 10)

If the hedonistic doctrine is accepted in regard to job motivation, any discussion of its nature or components will also be a discussion of nature and components of job satisfaction.

The Nature of Job Satisfaction

Defining the Construct

Although there is considerable consensus about the nature of job satisfaction, definitions within the literature focus on several different aspects of the construct. For example, Hoppock (1935) defined it as "any combination of psychological, physiological, and environmental circumstances which cause a person to say he is satisfied with the job" (p. 47).

Lawler (1971) suggested that job satisfaction should be conceptualized as a measure of the quality of life related to one's work. He differentiated overall satisfaction, one's affective reaction to the total work role, from facet satisfaction, one's affective reactions to particular aspects of the job.

Edwin Locke (1969) defined job satisfaction as the "appraisal of one's job as achieving or facilitating one's job values" (p. 316). He continued to say that satisfaction involved one's expectations of a job in relation to what one perceived it offered. Locke also emphasized that the causes of job satisfaction were not to be found solely in the work or the worker, but in the interaction between them.

Argyris (1957) suggested a similar definition. He defined satisfaction as the congruence between a person's expectations and

reality. In other words, if one finds in a job what he or she expects, the result will be a sense of satisfaction.

Prior to Victor Vroom's book Work and Motivation (1964), the emphasis in job satisfaction research had been essentially one dimensional, focusing mostly on the elements of the job itself and how those elements interracted with human needs. Like his predecessors, Vroom (1964) identified elements in the work situation which he concluded were influential on job satisfaction, but he then expanded on the notion earlier suggested by Hoppock (1935), that job satisfaction could only be adequately understood if it were related to individual differences in values and perceptions.

In short, Vroom conceptualized job satisfaction not as a single cause-effect relationship, but as a complex, interactive process. His conceptualization differed from Hoppock's primarily in that it defined the new components. These components were the preference, or valence, a worker assigned to certain outcomes related to a job, and the expectancy or instrumentality, that a worker associated with his efforts to achieve those outcomes. Vroom also suggested that these components were measurable.

Locke (1969) noted that all definitions of job satisfaction in some way deal with the rewards that emanate from the relationship between the individual and the organization (extrinsic rewards), and those that emanate from the relationship between the individual and

the job itself (intrinsic rewards). In addition, researchers indicated that an individual's experiences outside the workplace also have a powerful effect on the degree of satisfaction with the job (Hoppock, 1935; Sarason, 1982).

The definition of job satisfaction chosen for this study combines ideas expressed by Shertzer (1977), Vroom (1964), and Locke (1969). It deals with the tasks, the work conditions and rewards associated with the job, and with the worker's perceptions of how well these conditions and rewards fulfill individual needs. It also recognizes that influences of the environment outside the job and the characteristics and values that make job satisfaction unique for every individual.

Since Vroom's (1964) book was published, job satisfaction researchers have continued to seek the elements within work that contribute to satisfaction and dissatisfaction. However, few components of the work situation, beyond those identified by the Hoppock (1935) research have been discovered. In more recent studies, the focus of the research has shifted to the examination of the manner in which factors, relating to the individual's personal characteristics and values, interact with job characteristics to moderate their effects.

Moderating Variables

Evidently, work satisfaction arises from the interactive effects of work-based experiences and experiences off the job, both acting in

conjunction with a host of moderating variables. Moderating factors in this process include an individual's physical characteristics as well as his or her values, moods, and emotional states.

One physical characteristic which seems to moderate job satisfaction is the sex of the individual. Although Hoppock (1935) found little evidence to show that sex moderated satisfaction with work, several more recent studies have shown that it may, if combined with certain other conditions. In a study of over 300 junior college faculty members, Hallon and Gemmill (1976) found that females with advanced degrees found less overall satisfaction in their jobs than did their male counterparts. The level of job satisfaction in regard to the sex of the individual seems also to vary with the type of work, for in a study of lawyers' job satisfaction, Golding, Resnick, and Crosby (1983) found no difference between men and women, but Wiggins and Lederer (1983) and Chapman and Lowther (1982) both concluded that women teachers generally derived greater satisfaction from their jobs than men.

Age, or the stage of one's career, may also moderate how one perceives work satisfaction. Benson (1984) found that the age of Australian teachers in his study correlated significantly with the degree to which they found dissatisfaction in the bureaucratic aspects of teaching. Driscoll and Shirey (1985) concluded that beginning teachers derived their greatest satisfaction from supervisory

recognition and other intrinsic aspects of their work, while experienced teachers derived satisfaction primarily from extrinsic rewards such as pay and promotion.

Another moderator may be the type of job one holds. In regard to teaching, Chapman (1983) found that, in a high school placement, satisfaction was most closely related to the teacher's self-rated skills and abilities. For elementary teachers, satisfaction was found to be primarily related to the importance assigned by the individual to some personal criteria for success. These differences might also be accounted for by the fact that certain personality types have been found to be more common to high school or elementary teachers, respectively (Lawrence, 1982).

Several personality types or individual orientations, as well as physical characteristics, may modify perceptions of satisfaction. One such orientation seems to be an individual's self-perceived abilities. Chapman and Lowther (1982) concluded from an extensive study of teachers that the abilities to organize time and activities effectively were closely related to how that individual perceived satisfaction.

In a study of over 100 administrators from a variety of occupations, Somers and Lefkowitz (1983) concluded that employees with high self-esteem were more likely to find satisfaction in their work; "those with little self assurance were less likely to be influenced by

the rewarding qualities afforded by the work itself because they perceived an inability in themselves to generate those rewards" (p. 307). Similarly, Waddell (1983) found that one's internal locus of control moderated the way in which job satisfaction was achieved, and Chapman and Lowther (1982) found that the criteria by which individual's judged their personal occupational success did likewise.

As a further example, the value one places on the characteristic being measured as a satisfier or a dissatisfier may greatly moderate the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction one derives from a job. Dachler and Hulin (1969) conducted a study of 442 white-collar workers in British Columbia to determine the effect that an individual's perceptions of certain job and environmental characteristics had on resultant job satisfaction. They concluded, in support of Vroom's (1964) study, that it was unlikely that a characteristic which had little value or importance to a person would be able to cause either considerable satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Conversely, they found that highly-valued characteristics apparently generated high degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

The degree to which an individual experiences job satisfaction or dissatisfaction, therefore seems to be moderated by several physical and/or personality characteristics. Among the physical characteristics are the sex, age, socioeconomic status, and job placement of the worker. Also important are the type of job the

worker holds and the length of time the worker has been in that job. Among the moderating characteristics, due to personality or orientation, are the worker's degree of self-esteem, self-perceived abilities, values toward work, feelings toward the specific job, and personal indicators of success.

Job satisfaction has proven to be an extremely difficult construct to understand. The reasons for this are succinctly stated by Scarpello and Campbell (1983) in a study of job satisfaction among employees of two multinational companies. They concluded "that to measure job satisfaction as the sum of its facets was to miss several of the major determinants, because the whole was more complex than the sum of its parts" (p. 578). Not only do the elements of the job itself play a part in determining job satisfaction, but the individual employee characteristics, orientations, personalities, values, and needs are also contributing factors. These variables may change with time and interact differently in different combinations. Furthermore, the relationship among them seems to be altered by the type of work being studied.

Possibly because of the complexity of the subject, there is limited agreement on how these variables interact to make one either satisfied or dissatisfied with a job. Several theories have been advanced to provide a conceptual framework for understanding the phenomenon and each has some empirical support.

Theories of Job Satisfaction and Supporting Research

Most theoretical explanations of job satisfaction emphasize one or more of the components associated with it, as a key to understanding the phenomenon. It would be inaccurate to describe these theories as distinct from one another, for there is a consensus on important variables, differences seem to be a matter of emphasis, and there is a traceable evolution in the development of one from another. While the authors of more recent theoretical positions analyzed motivation and satisfaction as a process, their roots are in theories which conceptualize job satisfaction in terms of inputs or job content. Perhaps the cornerstone of the input theories lies in their concern with the fulfillment of human needs. Three sets of theory—needs hierarchy theory, motivation-hygiene theory, and achievement motivation theory—can be included in this group.

Needs Hierarchy Theories

A hierarchy of human needs, as described by Maslow (1954), is the basis for several theories in regard to human motivation. Although Maslow originally directed his work toward clarifying the relationship between motivation and personality, his ideas have provided the conceptual framework for much of the research in job satisfaction (Steers & Porter, 1975).

Maslow (1954) suggested that all human behavior is motivated by psychological drives or needs, and these needs can be categorized

hierarchically. At its two lowest levels, the hierarchy is characterized by needs for physiological sustenance and for safety. Maslow suggested that once these basic needs are satisfied, more complex needs for love and affection become preeminent. As these love needs are gratified, another level of needs, those for esteem, increase in importance.

The esteem needs are the first level of what Maslow (1954) referred to as the higher order needs and this level includes both needs for self-esteem and for esteem from others. Fulfillment of the esteem needs provides the individual with a sense of achievement, a sense of adequacy, confidence in dealing with the world, independence and freedom, while nonfulfillment produces feelings of inferiority, weakness, and helplessness (Maslow, 1954, pp. 90-91).

Maslow (1954) described one further level of needs beyond those for esteem: the needs for self-actualization. These needs are met when an individual reaches his or her self-perceived potential. Maslow (1954) stated, "what a man can be he must be" (p. 91). He concluded that an individual who is prevented from achieving his or her perceived self-potential will become frustrated and unhappy.

Maslow (1954) made several distinctions regarding the emergence of needs in this hierarchy. Of primary importance was the suggestion that although every person has the potential for all of these needs, they are not prevalent until the needs in the category below them are

at least partially fulfilled. In concrete terms, safety needs are
therefore not of primary concern to one who is starving; and only when
the more-rudimentary need for love and belonging is satisfied, will
one be motivated by needs for personal esteem.

A second distinction concerned the degree to which a need level
must be satisfied before higher order needs became prepotent. Maslow
made the following conclusion:

> most members of our society who are normal are partially
> satisfied in all their basic needs, and partially
> unsatisfied in their basic needs at the same time. . . .
> [The] emergence of a new need . . . is not a sudden
> saltatory phenomenon, but a gradual emergence by slow
> degrees from nothingness. (Maslow, 1943, p. 37)

Maslow (1954) also suggested that these needs were more often
unconscious than conscious.

Another distinction made by Maslow (1954), and one that is
prevalent throughout the literature on job satisfaction, is the
presumption that there is a positive relationship between job
satisfaction and job motivation. Maslow suggested that the urge to
fulfill or satisfy needs is what motivates a person to certain
behaviors. Although this presumption seems logical and self-evident,
it has proven difficult to support with empirical evidence, probably
for the same reasons that it has been difficult to correlate
satisfaction and performance.

The major problem seems to be the direction of the causality.
Does satisfaction produce motivation to perform, or does motivation

produce achievement which in turn creates satisfaction? Dunnette, Campbell, and Hakel (1967) suggested that this definitional dilemma results from the instrumentation used studying the constructs. They pointed out that because of concerns for reliability, only static features of employee attitude have been measured and the dynamic features have been ignored. Even more importantly, research efforts have not distinguished between employees who were satisfied because of what their jobs provided and those who were satisfied simply because of apathy toward what the job did or did not provide.

Sutermeister (1971) suggested a cyclical model to explain the satisfaction--performance relationship. In the model satisfaction and performance (or the motivation to perform) cause each other.

Several theorists, including Maslow (1965), have applied the needs hierarchy theory specifically to the workplace. Within this body of literature there seems to be general agreement regarding the existence of some hierarchical levels. However, more limited consensus regarding what those levels include and the manner in which each level becomes important, or active, has produced variations to Maslow's theory (Lawler & Suttle, 1972).

Clayton Alderfer (1969) proposed one simplification. He concluded that Maslow's assumption that lower order needs were a precondition to higher order needs was fallacious, and suggested that a three-level hierarchy of needs: existence, relatedness, and growth

(ERG) would more accurately describe the phenomenon. Existence needs, in the ERG hierarchy, combine the Maslow categories for both physiological and safety needs. The relatedness category is roughly equivalent to the Maslow categories for both love and esteem needs. Growth needs are equivalent to the needs for self-actualization.

Lawler and Suttle (1972) also questioned Maslow's conclusions regarding the emergence of needs. They concluded that, in regard to the workplace, there was little support for Maslow's (1954) multilevel hierarchy, and suggested that needs might more accurately be conceptualized in a two-level arrangement with the biological needs at the bottom and all others above.

Nadler, Hackman, and Lawler (1979) supported this position in concluding that unless existence and security needs were satisfied, people would not be concerned with higher order needs. However, beyond the level of security needs they found little evidence that a hierarchy existed or that any single need was the best or only motivator of behavior.

Argyris (1964) suggested that higher order need satisfaction, satisfaction for achievement or self-actualization, occurs only under certain conditions. There must be a sense that something worthwhile has been accomplished through the employee's efforts. Effective feedback on these accomplishments must be provided, and the employee must have a sense of personal responsibility for the work that led to those accomplishments.

In a study of needs satisfaction for lower- and middle-level management personnel, Porter (1961) modified Maslow's hierarchy to include needs for security, social interaction, esteem, autonomy, and self-actualization. He presented the following conclusions:

1. At both levels of management, the higher order needs were relatively least satisfied.

2. Self-actualization and security needs were perceived by both levels of management as more important than the needs for socialization, esteem, and autonomy.

3. Needs for self-actualization were the most frequently cited needs for both groups in terms of importance to the individual and in perceived deficiency.

4. The vertical location of a respondent's management position influenced his or her perceived need fulfillment.

5. The greatest difference in need fulfillment deficiency occurred in the areas of security, autonomy, and esteem. In each organization included in the study, middle-level managers were more often satisfied than were lower level managers.

Lawler and Porter (1963) and Lawler (1971) both found that pay or salary affected several levels of needs. On the basic level it affected security and existence needs; on a higher level it affected perceived needs for esteem. Esteem or status needs were also found to be correlated with satisfaction by Froelich and Wolins (1960), who

concluded that the perception the individual's social group held about the job was the important factor. They also suggested that the need strength, or the importance which the individual assigned to a specific need, was an important determinant of the degree of job satisfaction.

Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (1975) found that the highest order need, that for self-actualization, was unlike other needs in that it appeared to be insatiable. They found that the more it was satisfied, the more important it became to the individual.

There are several advantages to the needs hierarchy theories in explaining both job satisfaction and job motivation. These theories can be readily adapted to most data; they are uncomplicated and relatively easy to understand; and the implications for practice are obvious (Steers & Porter, 1975). Their primary importance, however, may lie in the foundation they provide for more sophisticated theories, especially with regard to the differentiation of higher and lower level needs.

Thus, from the Maslow-related literature the following conclusions are drawn. Job satisfaction is dependent upon the fulfillment of several human needs. At the lowest levels these needs are physiological in nature, and have to do with the ability to exist. At higher levels these needs are psychological in nature and include such constructs as needs for recognition, for personal esteem, for

status, and for achievement or self-fulfillment. The relative
importance of these needs as determinants of satisfaction vary
according to the individual's personality, age, and circumstances.
However, once the basic needs are met, the higher level needs
generally become the most important in shaping behavior.

Motivation/Hygiene Theory

The motivation/hygiene theory of job satisfaction and motivation
(Herzberg, Mausner, & Snydermann, 1959) builds on the variation of the
Maslow hierarchy that differentiates only lower and higher level
needs. From data gathered in interviews with engineers, accountants,
professional women, and persons from many occupations, both in
the United States and abroad, Herzberg and his associates (1959, 1966)
concluded that the sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction
could, for the most part, be categorized in two distinct groups which
were roughly equivalent to the two ends of the hierarchy of needs
suggested by Maslow (1954).

In the Herzberg studies, informants were asked to describe
pleasant or unpleasant experiences in their work. The incidents were
then analyzed with the informant to determine what made that
experience positive or negative. Herzberg concluded that sources of
satisfaction were generally to be found in the content of the work
itself, while sources of dissatisfaction were found in the context of
the work, or the relationship between the organization and the worker.

In his research, Herzberg (1966) found that the most potent sources of satisfaction, those which he labeled motivators, came from a personal sense of achievement in one's job. Achievement resulted from successes in completing work, from finding solutions to problems, and from seeing the results of one's work.

A sense of recognition ranked second among the sources of satisfaction discovered by Herzberg and seemed to have a longer effect on positive job attitudes. Types of responses by the informants that were coded as examples of recognition generally involved a supervisor, employer, or client. Some act of praise, or in negative examples, blame, was present. In a few cases, recognition was derived from promotion or wage increases.

The possibility for growth was the third most prominent of Herzberg's motivators. Promotions, the opportunity to move up in the organization, and the mastery of new skills, which implied future advancement, were frequently cited in this category. The fourth most significant motivator, advancement, was closely related to the possibility for growth, but was only cited by Herzberg when there was an actual change in the worker's status within the organization.

Herzberg concluded that a fifth source of job satisfaction was what he categorized as responsibility. This also seemed to be a potent factor over the long run and related to both responsibility for projects and for authority. Although the responsibility category

accounted for a significant degree of positive attitudes, it became a source of negative attitudes when expected authority was not granted.

As with the category of responsibility, influences on job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, in regard to salary, do not seem to fit neatly into the dichotomy suggested by Herzberg. He determined that salary does have an effect on satisfaction, not just dissatisfaction, although he classified the influence with the dissatisfiers. Herzberg qualified this placement by suggesting that salary as a satisfier was due more to perceptions that it constituted recognition, than to its inherent effect on the purchasing power of the worker.

Among the dissatisfiers found by Herzberg, the most prominent category related to problems with organizational policies and administration. Included here were such items as communication problems, poorly defined lines of authority, and unpopular personnel policies. The latter were generally regarded as manevolent rather than ineffective.

Responses coded under the heading of the supervisory and technical attributes of the work composed the second most-cited group of dissatsfiers. These were responses in which either the competence or incompetence, or fairness or unfairness of the supervisor were critical characteristics. Herzberg admitted that this category was closely related to that of interpersonal relations, but he

differentiated the two by restricting the dissatisfiers to incidents
in which there were actual verbalizations between the interviewee and
some other person: subordinate, peer, or superior.

Herzberg's final significant category of dissatisfiers concerned
the nature of the work itself. Jobs could be routine or creative,
overly difficult or too easy, too unstructured or too restrictive.

Herzberg summarized his findings as follows:

> Job satisfiers deal with the factors involved in doing the
> job whereas the job dissatisfiers deal with the factors
> which define the job context. Poor working conditions,
> bad company policies and administration and bad supervision
> will lead to job dissatisfaction. Good company policies,
> good administration, good supervision, and good working
> conditions will not lead to positive job attitudes. In
> opposition to this, as far as the data have gone,
> recognition, achievement, interesting work, responsibility
> and advancement all lead to positive job attitudes. Their
> absence will much less frequently lead to job
> dissatisfaction. . . . As an affector of job attitudes,
> salary has more potency as a job dissatisfier than as a
> job satisfier. (Herzberg, Mausner, & Snydermann, 1959,
> p. 82)

The studies by Herzberg and his associates (1959, 1966) proved to
be landmarks in job satisfaction research. Since their publication,
hundreds of further studies have been conducted to test their results.
Herzberg's conclusions have supported, modified, and rejected
subsequent findings.

In support, Graen (1966) found evidence that intrinsic work
rewards as exemplified by Herzberg's motivators, accounted for nine
times as much of the variance in job satisfaction responses as did

extrinsic or context work rewards. Lawler (1975) concluded that the key characteristics of work design in regard to job satisfaction were the intrinsic factors associated with using one's skills in a task, with having a significant task to do, with having autonomy in carrying out the work and with receiving constructive, accurate feedback on one's work performance.

Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (1975) concluded from an analysis of previous studies that job dissatisfaction was strongly related to the extrinsic or work context quality of the size of the subunit in which one worked within the organization. Overall size of the operation did not seem to be significantly related to job satisfaction, as long as the production subunit was kept small.

The manner in which tasks are divided within an organization is a job context factor which was shown by Morrisette (1969) to be related to job dissatisfaction. Even for effective work groups, job satisfaction was less for group members than for individuals, except in the case of the group leader. This was presumably due to the fact that the group recognition was focused on the individual.

Some studies, such as that of Wernimont (1966), support Herzberg's conclusions to a degree. Wernimont agreed that intrinsic factors were more likely to contribute to satisfying experiences. However, he also concluded that intrinsic factors were better predictors for both job satisfaction _and_ dissatisfaction. Dunnette,

Campbell, and Hakel (1967) and Friedlander (1964) both arrived at similar conclusions by repeating Herzberg's methods with new populations. Dunnette, Campbell, and Hakel (1967) found that a sense of achievement and the nature of the work were the most commonly cited satisfiers. However, they also concluded that certain intrinsic job dimensions, specifically achievement, recognition, and responsibility, could contribute significantly to both job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, depending upon the nature of the job. Furthermore, extrinsic dimensions such as salary, working conditions, company policies and practices, and security were less predictive of either job dissatisfaction or satisfaction than the intrinsic factors.

Several researchers have questioned the validity of the Herzberg, Mausner, and Snydermann (1959) findings, arguing that the methodology which was used invalidated the conclusions, and that the conceptualization of job satisfaction did not adequately take into account personal characteristics and orientations and differences in occupations (see House & Wigdor, 1967; King, 1970; Vroom, 1964). On the other hand, the theory has also received considerable support (see Bockman, 1971; Whitsett & Winslow, 1967), and we may conclude that the two-factor theory is valid in many situations. It is systematic, simple for practitioners to grasp, and offers specific recommendations with which managers might improve worker's motivational levels (Steers & Porter, 1975). Furthermore, as opposed to most other needs-based

theories of satisfaction and motivation, it is based on empirical evidence.

The controversy generated by conflicting opinions about the Herzberg model has acted as a stimulus to other researchers in their attempts to develop alternative theories of job satisfaction and work motivation (Steers & Porter, 1975), and the model is frequently cited in current literature on the subject. It is probably the most popular, but not the only theory which uses needs fulfillment to explain job attitudes.

Achievement Motivation Theory

The third needs-based theory of motivation and job satisfaction, achievement motivation theory, has its origins in the work of Henry Murray. Murray, in his 1938 publication, Exploration in Personality, identified a set of human needs even more comprehensive than Maslow's. This set included needs for achievement, affiliation, power, autonomy, nurturance, and defense. However, Murray did not arrange these needs hierarchically as Maslow did. Instead, he suggested that individuals differed in the degree to which they found these needs important. Murray (1938) suggested that as a consequence, some people have a greater need for achievement, power, affiliation, etc., than others, and this relative need strength influences the satisfaction they receive in any given work situation.

Needs, as defined by Murray, are "constructs . . . which stand for a force . . . in the brain region, a force which organizes

perception, appreciation, intellection, conotation and action in such a way as to transform in a certain direction, an existing, unsatisfying situation" (Murray, 1938, p. 123). Murray conceptualized these needs as learned behaviors which originated in the individual's environment.

In constructing a model to explain motivation, Atkinson (1964) focused on three of the categories of needs identified by Murray: achievement, affiliation, and power. The Atkinson model suggested that individuals possessing a high need for achievement (n-ach) can be characterized by certain beliefs and behaviors. They typically find satisfaction in situations in which they can take personal responsibility for solving problems. They will typically set moderately high, but achievable, goals for themselves and will take calculated risks. They will generally exhibit a strong concern for accurate, concrete feedback in regard to their accomplishments.

According to the Atkinson (1964) model, individuals with high need for power will find satisfaction in influencing others directly. Those with a high need for affiliation will find satisfaction by spending a significant amount of time thinking about warm, friendly relations with other people.

David McClelland expanded on Atkinson's work, creating a more comprehensive achievement motivation model. In a 1965 article he concluded that, especially for entrepreneurial jobs, one's need to

achieve was a major motivating factor. Not only did McClelland identify need strength as a critical variable, but he also identified personal expectancies, perceptions of situational reality, relevance, self image, value orientations, commitment, and the social context of the job as important moderators in determining motivation and satisfaction in the context of achievement.

·McClelland (1965, 1984) limited the application of his theory to entrepreneurial situations, but the importance of achievement on motivation and satisfaction has been demonstrated in many other work environments. As previously noted, Hoppock (1935) and Herzberg and his associates (1959) found achievement to be one of the strongest sources of job satisfaction and motivation. Performance on the job, which can be equated with achievement, has been shown in other studies to be closely related to job satisfaction (see Porter & Lawler, 1968; Morrisette, 1969). Locke (1969) argued that job satisfaction should be conceptualized as the result of action, and that the amount of job satisfaction derived from an action is a function of the degree to which that action leads to the achievement of job values of importance to the individual.

In tests of the Herzberg two-factor theory, Friedlander (1964) and Wernimont (1966) also found evidence that the achievement of work goals was a major contributor to job satisfaction. From a review of research on the subject, Lawler (1975) concluded that "when a

relationship exists between satisfaction and performance, it is usually because performance [achievement] influences the levels of satisfaction" (p. 37). Given the supporting evidence of these studies, the conclusion that achievement plays a major role in determining job satisfaction seems reasonable. However, it is obviously not the only factor involved.

The range of factors which McClelland includes in his version of the achievement motivation theory underscores two aspects of the job satisfaction and motivation phenomenon. First, it is multi-dimensional, involving many interrelated factors, among which the need to achieve is of primary importance. Secondly, although emphasis on the degree of influence attributed to separate factors varies from theory to theory, there is considerable consensus on what those factors are.

Equity Theory

Equity theories of job satisfaction and motivation suggest that the two phenomena are functions of the ratio between a worker's perceived job inputs and job outcomes, as compared to the perceived ratio of inputs and outcomes for others in the same or a similar work environment. Inputs, in this case, may refer to the effort, qualifications, and experience the worker brings to the job. Outcomes may refer to the rewards such as pay, fringe benefits, prestige, and chances for advancement that the worker derives from the job (Adams,

1965). It is important to note that it is the worker's perceptions of the situation, not realities as perceived by others, that are the critical variables in the process (Pritchard, 1969).

Inequity can occur in two ways. It may involve an exchange relationship directly between two persons, as with a love relationship. More commonly, in regard to job satisfaction, it may involve a relationship in which two individuals are related to a third party, as with two employees of the same employer (Adams, 1965).

Adams (1965) stated that feelings of inequity in a worker create tension, or dissatisfaction, the strength of which is in proportion to the degree of the perceived inequity. This perception motivates the worker to behaviors which he or she believes will reduce the inequity. Several behaviors may accomplish this end. The worker may alter inputs, may alter outcomes, may distort the situation (rationalize), may leave the workplace, or may change the object of comparison.

It is difficult to attribute equity theory to one person or even a group of theorists, for the concept appears under many labels throughout the literature on job satisfaction (see Homans, 1950; Hoppock, 1935; Locke, 1969; Vroom, 1964). All these positions, however, have the same thrust. The Adams model is most often cited, for it has generated the greatest amount of empirical support (Goodman & Friedman, 1971). Unfortunately the laboratory nature of the empirical studies has made application of the findings questionable to

real-life situations. Furthermore, the results have been somewhat inconclusive (see Goodman & Friedman, 1971; Pritchard, 1969).

Experimental efforts to substantiate equity theory have most often focused on extrinsic rewards such as pay, and their relationship to resultant performance, as a measure of satisfaction and motivation. Adams and Rosenbaum (1962) conducted an experiment to determine whether overpayment would increase motivation to perform. They found that it apparently had the opposite effect and attributed this to a loss of self-esteem and consequent loss of job satisfaction which resulted from the situation. Seemingly, the inequity did have an effect, but not in the predicted direction. The conclusions were also clouded by the unclear relationship between performance and motivation which was alluded to earlier in this chapter.

In a review of other research on overpayment, Goodman and Friedman (1971) concluded that the hypothesis that overpayment would increase production was more consistent with piece-rate work than with hourly-wage work, but that in neither case was the degree of the influence very significant. They also found that any effect of overpayment on productivity seemed to diminish in a short time.

Goodman and Friedman's (1971) review led to the conclusion that underpayment in relation to others would lead to dissatisfaction and lower productivity. However, the artificiality of the experimental situation and its industrial setting make it difficult to generalize those findings to populations relevant to this study.

To summarize the work in this area, it seems reasonable to say that there is a theoretical consensus that perceived inequity in the workplace influences job satisfaction (Adams, 1965; Goodman & Friedman, 1971; Hoppock, 1935; Locke, 1969; Pritchard, 1969; Vroom, 1964), but determining the strength and direction of that influence has proven elusive. Perhaps contemporary thinking on the issue is best stated by Lawler (1975) in describing the relation between equity and rewards.

> Satisfaction with rewards is a function of several factors. Undoubtedly the crucial determinant is how much a person receives. However, extrinsic reward satisfaction is not solely determined by the amount of the reward. Much depends on what happens to others like themselves. (p. 67)

The work of theorists who have attributed job satisfaction, in part, to perceptions of equity, suggests the following conclusions. If an employee feels that the rewards received for a job are not in line with the rewards received by another worker, for the same or a similar job, that employee will be dissatisfied to the extent that he or she perceives the rewards are inequitable. This perception will most commonly involve material rewards from the work such as salary. The degree to which perceptions of inequity will be manifested in employee behavior will vary with the individual and the nature of the perceived inequity.

Normative Theories

Closely related to the concept of equity in the workplace is a line of thinking advanced by George Homans in his book The Human Group

(1950). Although Homans' purpose was to explain the behavior of individuals in a group situation, his theories can readily be adapted to the workplace. In fact, many of the examples used by Homans are from the Mayo (1933) studies and other work situations.

Homans, in stating his theory of group behavior, posited that the dynamics of a primary group, or of those people "who communicate with one another often over a span of time, and are few enough in number, so that each is able to communicate with all the others . . . face to face" (p. 1), are crucial to understanding social organizations of any kind. Behavioral patterns in the primary group become the foundation for group behavior in larger groups and organizations.

Homans' (1950) analysis of groups was accomplished by examining three elements common to all groups: activities, patterns of interaction, and group sentiments. Activities refer to what people do. Interaction refers to verbal and other symbolic communication between people. Sentiments are defined as "internal states of the human body," and include drives, emotions, and feelings which are measured by words. The composite of these three elements creates behavioral norms as well as roles and levels of status for the members of the group.

Homans (1950) suggested that whenever people are placed together in a work situation, a unique social system is created and that the behavior of individuals is adapted within that system to allow the

group to maintain its identity in its particular environment. This adaptation manifests itself in terms of the activities, interaction, and sentiments or attitudes of the group members.

Homans made several points of particular relevance to job satisfaction. First he suggested that the behavioral norms which arise can be powerful sources of satisfaction and motivation. As indicated in earlier sections, humans have a basic need for affiliation; they tend to form groups. Homans stated that, within those groups, the individuals whose behavior most closely approximate the group's norms, will gain status and respect, and will become leaders, at least informally if not formally. Thus, satisfaction can be gained by approximating accepted behavior. Conversely, those who diverge from group behavioral norms, will be ostracized to some extent, and will lose the affiliative source of job satisfaction. According to Homans, this normative socialization force establishes an informal social hierarchy within the group.

Homans also explained the development of status within the framework of activity and interaction patterns. Within the social hierarchy established by the group, some people will achieve greater prestige than others. Homans suggested that those with higher status will have greater access to persons outside the group's immediate environment, and that this access, when used, will reinforce the status and prestige of those individuals. In simplified terms,

persons who have access to a wide range of others gain in prestige and therefore in satisfaction.

The case of the typical manager illustrates this idea. Because of his or her position, the manager is more likely to interact with persons outside the organizational environment than are subordinates. Furthermore, the contacts outside the organization are likely to be with persons of a similar status level, i.e., other managerial personnel. Access to these people not only implies status, but it creates a sense of greater control over one's life, by placing the individual closer to decision making.

Furthermore, by altering the patterns of his or her interaction with others within an organization (group), a manager can influence employees' levels of prestige and consequent satisfaction. A manager who interacts with a person of lower status within the group, raises that person's prestige. If, in so doing, an intermediary is ignored, the status of that intermediary is reduced. In short, Homans suggested that for both work and other environments, satisfaction was to some degree a function of the breadth of social contacts made by the individual.

According to Homans (1950), activities and interaction patterns can combine to influence job satisfaction in another way. Higher status within a group implies greater access to others who have the power to make decisions and control the activities of the group, and

therefore the individual. Homans suggested that being close to, or involved with the decision making process is a source of prestige and therefore satisfaction. Changes in an established pattern of interaction can be a source of dissatisfaction.

As an example of this phenomenon, Homans (1950) cited the case of an electrical engineering firm which was trying to determine the source of job dissatisfaction among its employees. The company manufactured electrical measuring equipment and had grown rapidly. The dissatisfied group of employees, the design engineers, were well paid and well treated by industry standards but were unhappy with their jobs.

In conducting a study to determine the causes of this dissatisfaction, the evaluators found that there had been a major change in company organization in the previous few years. When the company was founded it was smaller and less specialized. The design engineers were called upon to do a variety of activities involving contact with persons outside their immediate environment. They had considerable input into questions concerning finance and sales.

As the company grew, it became more specialized, particularly in finance and sales. The leadership of the company passed from an engineer to a financial expert. Although the design engineers maintained the salary standing they had previously enjoyed, they lost in status, due to the more restricted nature of their work. They were

no longer able to easily initiate interaction outside their immediate group. Their input into the various activities of the organization was curtailed. The norms that had been established earlier were the ones the design engineers accepted, and they had difficulty accepting the changes, particularly since these changes influenced their level of job satisfaction.

As compared to the writers mentioned previously, Homans' contributions represent an alternative way of conceptualizing sources of job satisfaction. Murray (1938) and Atkinson (1964) both identified the need for affiliation as a source of job satisfaction. Herzberg made a similar point in referring to the quality of supervisory and other relations in the workplace. In addition, recognition, esteem, and status have previously been cited as sources of job satisfaction (see Herzberg, 1966; Hoppock, 1935; Maslow, 1954). Homans reinforced these ideas by describing the processes by which activity, interaction, and sentiment patterns among organizational members combine to create satisfaction: by establishing a harmonious working environment, by raising personal esteem or status, and by creating acceptable group behavioral norms.

More recent researchers support the connection between prestige and job satisfaction. From reviewing research reports on the relationship between the structural elements of an organization and employee attitudes, Porter and Lawler (1965) found that job

satisfaction in an organization increases as one progresses through the rank and file to management and on through the managerial levels. This is consistent with the proposition that the closer the position is to the decision-making process and the higher its status, the greater will be the satisfaction derived from it. Porter and Lawler also concluded that line positions, those involved with operational decisions, provided greater satisfaction than staff positions.

Porter and Lawler (1965) also indicated that the size of the subunit of an organization was inversely correlated to the job satisfaction of the people within it. With regard to Homans' theories, this would be because the smaller subunit provided greater opportunity for its members to be close to the decision process and to interact with a greater percentage of the group members. Similarly, larger organizations were found to be less satisfying for the employees, although not for the managers. The latter instance would suggest that the managers found satisfaction in control over large amounts of the operation. Managers in the study also found more satisfaction in flat structures, where their direct influence was spread over a greater proportion of the organization.

In a study of job design and productivity, Davis (1957) found that assembly-line specialization led to dissatisfaction. Davis concluded that one source of the dissatisfaction was the high degree of anonymity associated with the job. The workers had no control over

the work pace, little need for skill, no chance to use judgment, and limited social interaction. The job was depersonalized, and needs for affiliation and input were stagnated.

Morrisette (1969) conducted an experiment to determine the relationship between job satisfaction and various communication patterns in an organization. The results supported Homans' theories, in that greater centralization of communication produced satisfaction for only the individual in the central position. Overall job satisfaction was found to be most prevalent in a circle structure in which no individual monopolized the interaction.

If one conceptualizes the establishment of norms for organizational behavior, as the establishment of an organizational climate, another body of literature on job satisfaction can be included within Homans' theories. Of particular relevance would be norms in regard to social relations, expectations, and decision making. These climate variables have been shown to be closely related to job satisfaction (Friedlander & Marguiles, 1969; Sarason, 1982). Friedlander and Marguiles (1969) concluded that these variables were especially important in regard to the social aspects of job satisfaction.

Homans' ideas are most useful to the understanding of job satisfaction in regard to status and its effects. None of the theories cited previously cover these two potential determinants of

satisfaction and dissatisfaction in as comprehensive a fashion. From Homan's work four major conclusions seem to follow. First, job satisfaction is influenced by the group behavioral norms which arise within an organization as the result of the activities, patterns of interaction, and sentiments of its members. Second, these norms are particularly important in regard to the degree to which needs for status, esteem, affiliation, and autonomy are fulfilled. Third, position within the organization has a great influence on both the development and maintenance of status and esteem. And, finally, once organizational norms are established, changes may lead to dissatisfaction among group members who feel they lose some degree of the control the original norms provided them.

Expectancy Theory

The evolution of theory in regard to job satisfaction and motivation would seem to have reached its most comprehensive and sophisticated level in expectancy theory as articulated by Victor Vroom in his 1964 publication Work and Motivation. A second, revised edition of this book was published in 1982. Expectancy theory, as described by Vroom (1982), was a process, or systems approach to job satisfaction. It drew upon previous research, which had identified many of the causes of the phenomenon, and then went beyond that research by providing a theoretical framework to explain how these contributing factors interacted.

In developing his version of expectancy theory, Vroom (1982) first addressed himself to the question of why people work at all? He suggested five possibilities:

1. Work provides financial remuneration.

2. Work requires the expenditure of energy.

3. Work involves the production of goods and services.

4. Work requires social interaction.

5. Work affects the social status of the worker.

With the possible exception of item number two, each of these reasons can be tied to one or more of the theories previously discussed. Remuneration was the only source of job satisfaction in the traditional theory of Frederick Taylor (1911); it was at the lowest level of Maslow's (1954) needs hierarchy; and it was included in the lists of satisfiers or dissatisfiers in every other comprehensive theory which has been reviewed in this dissertation. Production, or achievement, was at the heart of the achievement motivation theories, and it was recognized by Herzberg (1966) and Maslow (1954) as an important contributor to job satisfaction. According to Homans (1950), social status and social interaction were two of the preeminent sources of job satisfaction. Hoppock, Maslow, and Herzberg also identified harmonious social relations as important variables in the realization of job satisfaction.

Having established these properties of work, Vroom (1982) continued by saying that there are different levels of satisfaction associated with different work roles. Job satisfaction, which he defined as a positive job attitude, is then the product of several dimensions of the total job experience.

The first such dimension addressed by Vroom concerns the sources of job satisfaction identified by previous research. From a review of this research he concluded that these sources can be categorized into six major areas: job supervision, the work group, job content, wages, opportunities for promotion, and job schedule. He examined the research in each category in detail, providing a comprehensive summary, complete with subcategories.

Under the categorical heading of supervision, Vroom (1982) presented research which indicated that the degree to which supervisors show consideration for the needs of their subordinates is a major factor in regard to job satisfaction. In addition to consideration, Vroom identified a second subcategory as "influence in decision making." This label referred to studies that supported the proposition that employees become, to some extent, satisfied with their jobs when they are allowed to share in the decisions which influenced their work.

Vroom's coverage of the research in relation to the work group was subdivided into studies relating to interaction among workers,

their acceptance by the work group, similarities in worker attitudes, and worker goal interdependence. Vroom presented evidence from previous studies to support the conclusion that when any of these factors were present, the probability of job satisfaction for an individual was increased. Vroom also pointed out a shortcoming in this area. He suggested that too little research had been done in efforts to determine the influence which individual differences in personality and other characteristics had on job satisfaction.

Vroom cited studies related to job content, indicating that when a variety of tasks are integrated into a meaningful whole, variety in the work tasks becomes a source of satisfaction. His review leads the reader to conclude that routinization, repetitiveness, and specialization of tasks, all can contribute to monotony and fatigue, producing dissatisfaction. Other aspects of job content shown in the review to be related to job satisfaction included the degree of worker control over work pace and methods, the opportunity for the worker to use acquired skills and abilities, and the degree to which the worker could find success in the work. Several of the studies reviewed by Vroom indicated that work interruptions could contribute to dissatisfaction.

Vroom (1982) examined the theoretical controversy in regard to the effect of wages on satisfaction. One school of thought stressed the importance of amount and security as satisfiers. The opposing

view stated that these influences were secondary to the wage's fulfillment of social and ego needs. Vroom concluded that there was evidence to support both views. He stated, "these findings support the long held contention of many personnel managers, that satisfaction is dependent on relative rather than absolute wage levels" (p. 152).

Vroom (1982) concluded from previous research that promotional opportunities can influence job satisfaction. The effects will "vary from positive, before information about success and failure in attaining the promotion was received, to negative after it was received" (p. 155).

Vroom (1982) noted that work roles affect not only how a person spends time on the job, but leisure time as well. "A person's job usually influences the community in which he lives, the way others in the community respond to him, and the amount of time he can spend with his children" (p. 155). Vroom suggested that research has not given enough attention to the implications of work roles in regard to the use of leisure time.

Vroom concluded that work schedule is one of the most pervasive characteristics of a worker's role in regard to the relationship between leisure time and work satisfaction. The satisfaction one derives from leisure time activities varies with the recreational interests of the individual, and the degree of satisfaction one derives from the work schedule will therefore vary accordingly. This

discussion of individual differences leads into the crux of expectancy
theory.

Vroom (1982) stated,

Individuals differ greatly in their motives, values, and
abilities, and these differences probably have an important
bearing on the "optimal" characteristics of their work
role. Such personality differences have traditionally
played little part in research on job satisfaction,
although, . . . they have been the major focus of those
interested in the occupational choice process. If
differences in the attractiveness of a work role to
persons about to enter the labor market can be accounted
for in terms of personality differences, is it not
reasonable to assume that such personality differences
might have similar effects on the attractiveness of the
work role to those occupying it? (p. 173)

Having established why people work and what outcome factors in
the work environment were central to job satisfaction, Vroom proposed
that the level of satisfaction one derived from any of the source
factors was dependent both upon the value one placed on the respective
factor and one's expectancy that the desired outcome would
materialize.

In his proposed expectancy model of job satisfaction Vroom
labeled the value one places on a particular job outcome as its
valence. The valence of a job satisfaction source can vary according
to time and circumstances, and can be applied to any job for a
specific individual, regardless of whether that individual holds, or
has held the job. For example, one worker may find a high valence in
outdoor work, even though he or she has a desk job.

According to Vroom (1982), expectancy is the probability that the worker attaches to the relationship between his actions and the desired outcome. It depends on the worker's perceptions of the situation and can vary from +1.0 to -1.0 in value. An expectancy of +1.0 would be a surety that the desired outcome will take place as the result of his or her actions.

Vroom suggested that when the expectancy of an outcome is high and the outcome is positively valent, the worker will be motivated to work toward that source of satisfaction. Vroom expressed this motivation in terms of the force one has to act, a concept he borrowed from Lewin (1951). He summarized the theory as follows:

> The force on a person to perform an act is a monotonically increasing function of the algebraic sum of the products of valences of all outcomes and the strength of his expectancies that the act will be followed by attainment of these outcomes. (p. 18)

Vroom's major contribution to job satisfaction theory lies in his synthesis of previous work. He presented a comprehensive summary of previous research. He provided a meaningful framework on which to organize and analyze research on the sources of job satisfaction and on the manner in which the importance of these sources differs for individuals. His treatment of the subject pulled the needs, achievement, equity, and normative theories together into a more comprehensive body of knowledge. Vroom's work was also important because, within its theoretical framework, he was able to point out methodological and conceptual problems with previous research.

Because of expectancy theory's high level of abstraction, its complexity, and the difficulty involved in measuring the personality components it identified, little empirical research has been done to substantiate the relationships Vroom (1982) suggested. This is misleading, however, for the theory is built on the extensive work of previous researchers, many of whom have been included in this review. In this regard, Vroom's work would seem to validate previously cited determinants of job satisfaction: supervisory relations, the nature of the work group, job content and control over the factors that determine that content, wages and other material rewards, opportunities for promotion, and agreeable work schedules.

In addition to the validation of these sources of job satisfaction, Vroom also clarified the relationship between job satisfaction and personality characteristics. According to Vroom (1982), the key characteristics in the determination of job satisfaction were the value the individual placed on potential job outcomes in relation to alternative uses of time and energy and the degree of instrumentality, or strength of belief, that efforts on the part of the employee would result in the desired outcome.

Situational Leadership Theory

Theoretical efforts directed primarily at the nature of effective leadership have also added to the literature relevant to job satisfaction. One of the most useful examples, for the purposes of

this study, is the situational leadership theory described by Hersey and Blanchard (1977).

Hersey and Blanchard (1977) suggested that appropriate leadership depends on the maturity of the worker. Immature workers need a high degree of structure, while mature workers, those who are both willing and able, will be most productive when they have a chance to use their skills with some degree of autonomy. In light of the research on expectancy, as well as equity, group norms, and achievement, it can be argued that mature workers will be satisfied when they are delegated the opportunity to work autonomously and will be dissatisfied when they are restricted in their professional activities.

In other words, a reasonable conclusion from this line of thinking is that mature workers will find satisfaction if they are allowed the autonomy to use their skills. Conversely, these employees will be dissatisfied if they perceive that management or some other force is not giving them the job scope or responsibility their maturity warrants. This conclusion describes a process, the results of which are consistent with the findings of research cited previously (see Herzberg, 1966; Murray, 1938; Vroom, 1982).

Summary

Fifty years of research directed specifically to job satisfaction has produced many conclusions about the nature and determinants of the

phenomenon. Among the conclusions which can be drawn from the research reviewed in this chapter, several seem most cogent to the present study.

Job satisfaction, as perceived by all the researchers reviewed here, is an extension of the hedonistic principle: Human behavior is calculated to maximize pleasure (satisfaction) and minimize pain (dissatisfaction). If one accepts this principle, it follows that satisfaction and motivation are part of the same process. In the search for satisfaction, a worker makes conscious choices (motivation) which he or she judges will realize desired ends.

If one accepts the hedonistic principle, it also follows that job satisfaction is but one aspect of satisfaction with life in general, and that the two can not be readily separated. There are several facts which make this apparent. First, work comprises a major portion of the life of most adults. Second, contrary to earlier beliefs, research indicates that individuals derive as much, if not more, satisfaction from work than they do from non-work sources. Third, work is a major source of achievement, affiliation, and status, all of which have been demonstrated to be sources of satisfaction, whether they are in a work environment or another context. Finally, the earnings associated with work both elevate persons above the basic survival needs and, at least to some degree, control the manner in which individuals use non-work time.

Job satisfaction appears to be the composite of a complex process involving three major components: the elements of the work itself, the characteristics of the individual, and the interaction between these first two factors. Considerable progress has been made in identifying the job-related elements in this process. More recent researchers have made some headway toward explaining what personal characteristics are important and how these interact with the elements of the job to produce satisfaction.

In the research on job satisfaction, discussion of the elements of the job has been usually divided into two classes: extrinsic rewards--those concerned with the context of the job or the relationship between the job and the organization, and intrinsic rewards--those concerned with the content of the job. Extrinsic rewards were more often related to the fulfillment of physiological needs; intrinsic rewards were more often related to psychological needs.

The most obvious of the extrinsic rewards were those that involved material benefits: the salary, fringe benefits, and privileges that a worker received for doing a job. The manner in which these factors produce job satisfaction is less obvious. Early theorists posited that there was a direct relationship: the greater the reward, the greater would be the satisfaction. Recent research, however, has indicated that the relationship is more complex.

Apparently, once a basic level of material rewards is reached, the degree of satisfaction derived from salary increases depends upon several moderating variables, particularly the degree of equity or inequity the individual perceives relative to others in a similar work situation and the degree to which the salary increase represents recognition and status to the individual.

Other important sources of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction concern the nature of the working conditions the individual encounters. Supervisory relations, the degree of routinization and fatigue involved with the work tasks, the pleasantness of the work environment, the opportunities the work provides for advancement, and the nature of the work schedule have all been correlated with job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. There is evidence to support the proposition that, in many types of work, these extrinsic factors are more often associated with dissatisfaction than satisfaction.

The intrinsic or psychological rewards associated with work have been shown to be the more potent determinants of behavior or motivation. For discussion purposes, these rewards are often grouped within several interrelated categories: those which fulfill the need to achieve, those which concern recognition or status, those which result in meaningful affiliation with others, and those which concern responsibility or autonomy.

Judging from the preponderance of research related to its effects, the achievement category would seem to be the preeminent

source of job satisfaction. Maslow (1954) placed self-actualization at the pinnacle of his hierarchy of needs. Herzberg (1966) found achievement to be the strongest of the motivators. Achievement motivation theory, as described by McClelland (1965), focused primarily on the strength of an individual's need to achieve.

The class of intrinsic reward or satisfaction labeled as responsibility or autonomy is closely related to achievement because, for a worker to derive some sense of achievement from a task, he or she must first be able to claim some degree of ownership. A worker who has abilities will be stifled in any attempt to achieve and therefore dissatisfied, unless given the opportunity to use those abilities in a constructive manner.

Recognition and status rewards are also closely tied to achievement. Satisfaction through achievement depends upon the individual's self-perceptions in regard to the work; recognition and status involve the perceptions of others in regard to the same criteria. Based on the work of Homans (1950) and others who have expanded on his ideas, it seems reasonable to conclude that when a work group is formed, needs for affiliation arise. Within this context, an individual will be more likely to feel good about himself or herself when he or she perceives respect and acceptance from the group. This phenomenon again underscores the assertion that job satisfaction can not be divorced from overall satisfaction with life.

Prestige and status have both been shown to be determinants of job satisfaction, but they are dependent upon societal norms which are not influenced to a measurable extent by any individual work environment.

Explaining the second component of job satisfaction, individual differences, is less easy because of the range of variables. "Some people are satisfied [with their jobs] and others are dissatisfied, regardless of the nature of their work roles. . . . Individuals differ greatly in their motives, values, and abilities, and these differences probably have an important bearing on the "optimal" characteristics of their work role" (Vroom, 1982, p. 173).

Researchers have identified several of the individual characteristics which serve as moderating variables in the determination of job satisfaction. Some of these variables--sex, age, job tenure, socioeconomic status, and the type of job one holds--are characteristics which, although they are not easily manipulated, are measurable. Psychological characteristics--self-perceived abilities, self-esteem, values in relation to various rewards, and the strength of various needs--are more easily manipulated, but also, because of their nature, are more difficult to measure.

Vroom's (1982) theory is the most comprehensive and seemingly the most widely accepted of several versions of expectancy theory (see also Lawler, 1975; Locke, 1969) which explain the process in which the components of the job and the characteristics of the individual

interact to produce satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Vroom posited that job satisfaction was the composite of the products of the valences which an individual assigned to given job rewards or outcomes, and of the expectancy on the part of the individual that each of these outcomes would take place. Depending on the individual, either of these two factors could vary. What one worker perceived as a positive aspect of a job, another might feel was negative. What one worker perceived as an assured outcome, another might perceive as doubtful.

Since, according to Vroom (1982), the valence one assigns to a given job role is the major determinant of the degree of job satisfaction which will be produced, the nature of the job would seem to be a critical aspect of any study of job satisfaction. All jobs differ in their work conditions and rewards. In the next chapter, the conclusions drawn from this general review of job satisfaction research will be applied specifically to the job of teaching in the U.S. public schools.

CHAPTER III
JOB SATISFACTION IN TEACHING

The Nature of the Occupation

In his widely-cited publication <u>School Teacher</u>, Dan Lortie (1975)
asserted that the only way to describe an occupation accurately is to
compare it to others. In this context, Lortie's conclusions, and
those from several less-comprehensive studies, make a good case for
the argument that teaching represents a unique and enigmatic work
culture.

Teaching is unique in its identity which Charters (1967)
described as one of "social unattachment and psychological
detachment" (p. 183). He stated,

> the teacher is a public servant, and his life is public
> property. . . . Codes of conduct cover a wide range of
> deportments, both public and private. . . . In the
> activities he is expected to undertake, as well as
> those he is obliged to forego, the teacher stands as
> a symbol of the values of the community." (Charters,
> 1967, p. 184)

Although this description might not be as accurate as it once
was, recent findings (Lortie, 1975) support the assertion that the
teacher's life, both on and off the job, is still highly influenced by
community values and expectations more stringent than those for other
public service workers. Lortie described this status as "special but
shadowed" (p. 183). This phenomenon probably has historical roots in

the close connection between education and religion during the colonial period. Colonial schools were closely connected to the churches (Johns, Morphet, & Alexander, 1983), and although the majority of our schools have been under secular control since the middle of the 19th century, societal expectations still reflect their religious origins (Lortie, 1975).

Lortie (1975) suggested that teachers have traditionally been accorded a degree of respect similar to that of the clergy, but that they have also been expected to behave within similar moral constraints. Recent court decisions have supported this assertion in rulings that imply that "teachers must not only be moral persons, but must conduct themselves in such a manner that others will know of their virtue" (Alexander & Alexander, 1985, p. 611).

What Lortie described as the "special but shadowed" status of the American public school teacher has persisted well into this century. Until recently, teachers were primarily women working in the elementary grades and were, as a rule, better educated than the general populace. Social changes in the past few decades have threatened these stereotypes. Women, especially the more able ones, now have additional career opportunities outside of teaching. Because the general populace is more highly educated today than ever before, teachers are no longer part of an educated elite in the society (Goodlad, 1983; Lortie, 1975).

Teaching seems to attract people for different reasons. According to National Education Association studies done in 1967 and again in 1976, the primary reason teachers entered the occupation was because they wished to work with young people. It was also indicated that the second leading motive was a desire to serve society. Both of these findings were supported by the results of followup studies by Ornstein (1981) and Bredson, Furth, and Kasten (1983). Lortie (1975) cautioned that the acceptance of these two conclusions should be tempered with the understanding that these two reasons may be the most widely cited, because they are the most socially acceptable.

Based on his research, Lortie (1975) suggested that many people enter a career in teaching because they previously enjoyed their own school experience and wished to maintain contact with it. Some teachers followed a family tradition, or wished to emulate a teacher they found to be a strong role model. For others, especially for women and persons from less advantaged backgrounds, an attraction of teaching was the material rewards it offered. Women also seemed to be attracted to teaching by a work schedule which accommodated family responsibilities (Lortie, 1975; McGuire, 1984).

Teaching is unique in regard to the manner in which one prepares for it. Teaching is characterized by relatively long general schooling, as are law and medicine, but the specific training is neither as intellectually stimulating nor organizationally complex

(Lortie, 1975). Training relies heavily upon traditional practices and teachers tend to teach as they were taught (Goodlad, 1983; Lortie, 1975).

In regard to methodological training, the technological base underlying the occupation has neither the empirical, scientific base nor the public confidence enjoyed by other service professions such as medicine (Lortie, 1975). The effective teaching practices identified in the research seldom find their way into the classroom (Goodlad, 1983; Sarason, 1971).

There is limited mediation between a teacher's training and full job responsibility. Except for a few weeks of practice teaching, the beginning teacher enters full professional practice and assumes full duties and responsibilities from the time a beginning contract is signed. The expectation is that the teacher will learn by doing (Goodlad, 1983; Lortie, 1983). Teachers enter the occupation anticipating the opportunity to work productively with children and to serve society. They then find that the limitations of their training and the nature of their working conditions makes these goals difficult to achieve (Cedoline, 1984; Goodlad, 1983; Lortie, 1975).

These beginning teachers find little or no differentiation in activities or responsibilities between their job descriptions, as novices, and those of teachers with years of experience (Lortie, 1975). A similar characteristic of teaching is that it offers limited

job mobility or differentiation. Not only do the beginning and experienced teacher have essentially the same duties, but there is little chance that those duties will change significantly from year to year. Lortie (1975), Sizer (1984), and Boyer (1983) all noted that the only routes to professional advancement in teaching lie outside the classroom.

Working conditions are dissimilar to those found in most organizations. Researchers indicate that teaching provides autonomy, but only at the classroom level and at the expense of collegial relations with other adults (Goodlad, 1983; Lortie, 1975). Most of a teacher's time is spent with children in the classroom, and interaction with other adults is limited. Teacher involvement in occupational decision making is severely restricted outside the classroom environment (Goodlad, 1983).

The isolation of teachers due to the cellular structure prevalent in schools may be one of the most significant characteristics of the occupation. In a study of elementary teachers, Rothberg (1986) found that collegial interaction for professional reasons was almost nonexistent and that over two-thirds of the teachers had not been visited by a supervisor in the past year. Moreover, Rothberg concluded that, although teachers were interested in observing other classrooms, they were reticent to have their peers observe them. Lortie (1975) and Goodlad (1983) have both concluded that teacher isolation fosters intellectual and social stagnation.

Goodlad (1983) suggested that the erosion of traditional social structures, such as the churches and the nuclear family, has increasingly placed a more comprehensive role on the schools, and therefore the teachers. He cited legislation for racial integration, and public pressure to provide what may be the mutually exclusive goals of quality and equality, as examples of this phenomenon (p. 45). Many of the expanded set of curricular goals arising from the expanded role of schools are perceived to be incompatible with other, more traditional goals. According to Goodlad (1983), this expansion has created an overload of expectations. The teaching occupation is caught between conflicting public opinions and the reality of trying to achieve what may be incompatible and unachievable goals.

Teacher's relations with the public as well as with others in their work environment seem to have deteriorated over the past two decades. There is evidence that students no longer accord teachers the same degree of respect they previously did (Lortie, 1975; Veenman, 1984). The gap between teachers and school administrators has widened with the advent of collective bargaining (Lipsky, 1982). The public's opinion of teaching has declined because of public concerns about the quality of the service and about teacher militantism (Grant, Acharya, Franz, Hawkins, Kohli, & Prakosh, 1983; Lipsky, 1982; Lortie, 1975).

This public dissatisfaction with schools is one measure of the decreased status of teaching as an occupation. Sizer (1984) contended

that society shows its respect for a professional in three ways: by giving autonomy, by providing overt praise or status, and by providing money for the service rendered. The nature of the intrinsic rewards of teaching in regard to autonomy and status have already been described. The former seems to be more illusion than reality. Within the centralized bureaucratic structures of the public school, the individual teacher has little control over working conditions, over the content of the work (the curriculum), over decisions concerning entry into the occupation, or over its reward structure (Lortie, 1975; Sizer, 1984).

The salary structure of teaching, never especially high, has also suffered in regard to other professions in recent years. In a 1983 NEA study, researchers found that the 1981-82 average minimum mean salary for college graduates with degrees in engineering, accounting, sales-marketing, business, liberal arts, chemistry, math, and economics were all higher than the average minimum mean salary for teachers. According to Educational Research Service (1987) data, teacher salaries increased from 1976 through 1982 at a slower rate than did the consumer price index. Although the trend reversed itself during the period 1982 through 1986, the total increases in average teacher salaries for the past 10 years are less than the increases in the consumer price index for the same period (p. 10).

Salaries for teaching are characterized by relatively high entry levels compared to other occupations in the total job market, but increases tend to plateau early in the working career (Lortie, 1975;

Sykes, 1983). Relative to other occupations requiring similar amounts of preparation time, beginning salaries are not competitive (Sykes, 1983). Probably as a consequence of the pay structure, men often enter teaching with the expectation that it will be a temporary job (Lortie, 1975), and over one half of the men who remain in teaching moonlight to supplement teaching salaries (Charters, 1978; Wisniewski & Kleine, 1984). For many women teachers, their income is a supplement to that of their spouse (Lortie, 1975).

Salary increases in teaching are generally tied to a single salary schedule. With the possible exception of recent experiments with merit pay and career ladders, placement on these schedules is almost totally a function of experience and additional college credits. Unlike other occupations, performance and ability do not play a significant role in determining pay (Lortie, 1975; Sizer, 1984).

In summary, several generalizations regarding the nature of teaching in United States public schools seem justified. Many beginning teachers enter the occupation for idealistic reasons. They find that idealism threatened by the poorly-developed technology underlying teaching practices and by the occupation's resistance to change. The salaries these beginning teachers receive may appear adequate or better in relation to the total job market; however, compared to other occupations which require an equivalent amount of preparation time, these salaries are not competitive.

Career patterns in teaching are strongly influenced by the nature of the profession. Chances for increased earnings and responsibility, as one progresses in a teaching career, rapidly reach a maximum. The tasks of a beginning teacher and a veteran are essentially the same, and for those who remain in the classroom, a routine can develop from year to year. To significantly further his or her income, job description, or level of responsibility, a teacher must leave the classroom.

Teachers have considerable autonomy in classroom decisions, but limited voice in schoolwide affairs, and little or no control over decisions which affect the occupation as a whole. Most of the control for occupational licensing and for financial support comes from government agencies through the legislative process.

Working conditions in teaching are strongly influenced by the cellular structure of most schools. Most of a teacher's personal contact is with students, not with other adults. The classroom tends to be isolated from other classrooms and from the schools supervisory staff, thus limiting collegial planning and support. Feedback, in regard to performance, is restricted by the limited body of knowledge about effective teaching and by the isolation of teachers from other adults.

Because of the public nature of their work, its historical background, and the fact that teachers work with children, expectations for teachers are higher than for the typical worker in most occupations. The status of the occupation has probably suffered

recently in comparison to others because of increased public
dissatisfaction with the schools, increased and other unrealistic
expectations, difficult working conditions, and the decreased earning
potential of teaching in relation to other work alternatives.

Research on Job Satisfaction in Teaching

The literature in regard to job satisfaction in teaching is
fragmented. Some researchers addressed the topic directly, but a
greater number approached it indirectly through related areas of
research: professional burnout, teacher professionalism,
organizational climate, or teacher efficacy.

The causes of teacher job satisfaction and dissatisfaction and
the moderating variables which influence these sources were addressed
by some researchers, as was the theoretical literature covered
in the previous chapter. Unfortunately, the coverage is not only
fragmented, but as stated by Driscoll and Shirey (1985), "there is
little data on the effects of the teaching profession on its members"
(p. 2).

This paucity of information is ameliorated partially by the
research on related topics, each of which seems to emphasize one of
the source elements of job satisfaction. Studies on burnout deal
primarily with the negative attitudes toward work arising from
stressful work conditions. Studies on teacher professionalism deal
primarily with the issues of autonomy and status. Organizational

climate studies focus on attitudes arising from interpersonal relations in the workplace. The authors of literature on teacher efficacy emphasized the degree to which practitioners find satisfaction through achievement.

The General Research on Teacher Job Satisfaction

Much of the general research follows the theoretical frameworks devised by Maslow (1954) and Herzberg (1966). Sergiovanni (1967) repeated Herzberg's two-factor experiment using a sample of teachers, and concluded that Herzberg's findings were valid for the occupation. Intrinsic factors of the occupation were shown to be the most potent sources of job satisfaction; extrinsic, or context, factors were the most potent sources of dissatisfaction. Similar results were obtained in a study of British teachers (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1975).

In a test of Sergiovanni's work, Kries and Milskin (1985) hypothesized that although the needs of teachers may be hierarchical, "it does not follow that needs satisfaction must be hierarchically met" (p. 76). The authors suggested that there are different ways in which these needs can be met in different settings. Kries and Milskin further suggested that job satisfaction in teaching follows the expectancy pattern suggested by Vroom (1964). When the expectancies of teachers find a match with reality, satisfaction is the result.

Kries and Milskin (1985) surveyed over 900 teachers to test this hypothesis. They concluded from their experiment that the results did

not fit Herzberg's theory because changes in society, as well as in the teaching profession itself, had changed expectations. Community support for schools was no longer assured; in fact, schools were often the focus of criticism. Due to increased disciplinary concerns, less satisfaction could be derived from working with young people. The increasingly bureaucratic nature of schools had diminished teacher involvement in the decision making process. Finally, the average age of teachers was greater than at the time of Sergiovanni's experiment, and the needs and values (valences in Vroom's words) of these teachers had shifted with age.

In an attempt to determine the degree to which security, esteem, autonomy, social interaction, and self-actualization were important to teachers, Pierson, Archambaux, and Iwanicki (1985) administered the Porter Needs Strength Questionnaire (Porter, 1961) to almost 2,000 Connecticut teachers. They found that the instrument measured teacher's higher needs strengths but not the lower ones, and they concluded that the former were of primary concern to teachers.

Pastor and Erlandson (1982) conducted a study designed to determine whether the needs of public school teachers were higher order or lower order and to determine the sources for satisfying these needs. The measured higher-order needs included participation in decision making, use of skills and abilities, freedom and independence (autonomy), challenge, expression of creativity, and opportunity for

learning. The measured lower-order needs included high pay, fringe benefits, job security, friendly coworkers, and considerate supervision.

Although the results varied by district, the researchers concluded that the higher an individual's need strength, the higher the job satisfaction. Sources of high satisfaction discovered for teachers, in order of importance, were seeing student growth, teacher influence on students, and teacher-student interaction. The extended summer vacation, job variety, and student participation were also sources of satisfaction, but not as important.

The primary areas of dissatisfaction with the job included student discipline problems, pay, unresponsive students, lack of parent concern, administrative shortcomings, lack of status, and lack of mobility and advancement. For the teacher who was the main wage earner in a family, pay became a major source of dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction with all areas was generally more prevalent in situations where alternative jobs were available and in the cases of older teachers. Pastor and Erlandson (1982) concluded that these findings supported, to a considerable degree, the assertion that the needs of public school teachers were generally higher-order needs.

Specific elements of teaching have been shown to affect job satisfaction. In a study concerning evaluation and merit pay, Murname and Cohen (1986) drew several conclusions consistent with the equity

theory of job satisfaction. They found that the "limitations" of the uniform salary scale of teaching were dissatisfying to some teachers in that there were no financial rewards or penalties for good or poor performance respectively. The teachers could not gauge their achievement of goals in relation to their efforts and abilities. According to the authors, this situation resulted from the poorly developed technology of the occupation.

In a related study, Kuacha, Peterson, and Driscoll (1985) interviewed 60 practicing teachers to determine their reactions to evaluation in regard to job satisfaction. They found that evaluation practices were often a source of dissatisfaction, particularly because of the "perfunctory" nature of the supervisory contacts and because of the practice of assessing student performance through achievement test scores.

In a review of the research on teacher job satisfaction, Rosenholtz (1985) found two additional sources of teachers' work dissatisfaction: rigidity in work patterns and interruptions which detracted from productive work. Rosenholtz concluded that interruptions and loss of control over the work threatened teacher achievement, a source of job satisfaction. He noted that both of these elements were also related to the nature of supervision.

In a study of over 700 midwestern elementary and secondary teachers, Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978) found that teacher

participation in decision making was related to job satisfaction.
They classified school-related decisions into three categories:
institutional, managerial, and technological. When teachers were left
out of technological decisions, dissatisfaction was common. The
consequences for being left out of other types of decisions were less
noteworthy. The authors concluded that the type of decision, the
degree of the decision's importance to the individual, and the
expectancy of the teacher that he or she should be consulted were
critical in determining resultant degrees of satisfaction or
dissatisfaction.

Judging from the research, the earning potential relative to
teaching can be a dissatisfier or satisfier, depending on the
individual. For men, especially those who are heads of households, it
can be a source of dissatisfaction. For others, especially women
whose earnings represent a supplement to their spouse's income, it can
be a source of satisfaction (Lortie, 1975). Chapman and Lowther, in a
1982 study, concluded that salary is not a primary source of
dissatisfaction with teaching, because beginning teachers know of the
pay scales when they enter the occupation and therefore accept them.

Super and Hall (1978) concluded from a study of 3,000 teachers
that job satisfaction was a function of three elements: the challenge
of the work, the autonomy available in the work, and adequate rewards.
They found teaching to be lacking in all three categories. Challenges

were found to be either unrealistic or restricted by the bureaucratic nature of contemporary schools; what appeared to be teacher autonomy was attributed to professional isolation; and the rewards of teaching were found to be low relative to the training required.

Researchers have identified several factors which moderate the effect these sources of job satisfaction have on teachers. Driscoll and Shirey (1985), in a sizeable study of women teachers in the northeast, concluded that the sources of job satisfaction were different for beginning and experienced teachers. Beginning teachers rated pay, promotion, and supervision as the most influential sources of job satisfaction and rated working conditions and coworkers as the sources of least satisfaction. Driscoll and Shirey also suggested that the greatest concern for new teachers was meeting the needs of the students and that this source of possible satisfaction was severely threatened by the isolation of the teaching assignment from other adults who might assist the novice in attaining that goal.

Driscoll and Shirey (1985) suggested that satisfaction with teaching also varied with tenure. For experienced teachers, good pay, promotion, and supervisory responsibilities were the most widely-cited sources of job satisfaction, while low benefits, limited recognition, and coworkers were the prevalent sources of dissatisfaction. Experienced teachers found even less satisfaction in their coworkers than did beginners and were less concerned with being accepted by

other professionals and doing well in front of superiors. They found that experienced teachers had a greater chance of establishing cooperative working assignments but found little there as a source of satisfaction. The authors concluded that many of the negative aspects of teaching expressed by both groups were the product of the professional isolation common to teaching in the U.S. public schools.

In a similar study, Bredeson, Furth, and Kasten (1983) found that experienced teachers stayed in teaching because of the security it offered and because they valued working with children and serving society. Many teachers in this study reported that the opportunity for growth was a major reason for staying in teaching but the lack of professional growth was the second most commonly-cited frustration of the job. A similar dichotomy was found in regard to work schedule. It was often cited as both a positive aspect of the job as well as a major disadvantage.

In regard to other moderating qualities, Norris and Niebrehr (1984) concluded from a review of previous research that the individual's self-esteem and the individual's need for achievement were important determinants of job satisfaction. Chapman (1983) found that, for high school teachers, job satisfaction was significantly related to self-rated skills and abilities. For elementary teachers, job satisfaction was most significantly related to the individual's criteria for professional success. Chapman and Lowther (1982)

identified persuasion and communication skills, leadership abilities, and writing abilities as characteristics which moderated the degree of job satisfaction an individual derived from any particular work situation.

Bredeson, Furth, and Kasten (1983) concluded that the external rewards of the profession were not enough to hold teachers who were "committed to children and the curriculum" (p. 57). They stated,

> the most powerful motivational forces [to] attract, maintain, and keep successful teachers in the classroom, are a complex of intrinsic rewards which come together in the ideal occupational combination of working with students, seeing students learn and succeed, believing one's job, in service to others, is valuable, and being able to continue growing personally and professionally. (p. 57)

This quote summarizes what many other researchers (Chapman & Lowther, Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1982) have found. Achievement in teaching, which equates with working successfully to help children learn, is probably the most influential of the many sources of job satisfaction. Unfortunately, due to the underdeveloped state of the technology of teaching and due to characteristics of the schools which thwart teacher growth and performance, this idealistic goal, which brings many teachers into the occupation, is difficult to measure and realize.

The foregoing conclusion is one of several generalizations that seem reasonable given the research reviewed in this section. This research revealed that the determination of job satisfaction in

teaching is consistent with the job satisfaction theories reviewed in Chapter II, but is heavily influenced by the specific characteristics of the occupation. The characteristics of the occupation, as it generally exists in United States public schools today, seem to restrict, rather than enhance, the fulfillment of teachers' higher-order needs.

The satisfaction of teachers' higher order needs for achievement, autonomy, status, and equitably dispensed material rewards seem to be of primary importance in the determination of job satisfaction. Professional isolation, negative public opinions toward the schools, the lack of control teachers have over their work lives, and the impediments teachers face in reaching preconceived goals are characteristics of the occupation that threaten these higher order needs the most. The most influential moderating characteristics in this process are the need strengths of the individual, the stage of the teacher's career, and the personal responsibilities borne by the individual.

Teacher Burnout Research

During the past 15 years, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to a work-related psychological condition, commonly known as job burnout. "Researchers have come to believe that the stress [which contributes to job burnout] is especially prevalent among human service occupations, especially teaching" (Harris, 1985, p. 346).

Burnout is generally characterized by some degree of physical and emotional exhaustion, socially dysfunctional behavior, negative feelings about one's self, and organizational inefficiency (Maslach, 1975). The nature and causes of burnout can be equated with many elements of job dissatisfaction.

Maslach (1975) is credited with some of the most comprehensive research on burnout. She defined the condition as the loss of concern for the people with whom one works. She found that burnout often manifests itself in destructive behaviors: high absenteeism, impaired performance, emotional and physical fatigue, poor health, and drug abuse.

Cherniss (1980) concluded from an extensive study of many occupations, including teaching, that there were many stressful conditions in public service work which contributed to dissatisfaction and eventual burnout. With regard to teaching, these sources of burnout included responsibility for others, insufficient client motivation or ability, manipulation or abuse by the client (children or parent), role ambiguity, the conflict between bureaucratic interference and professional autonomy or personal achievement, boredom with the work, lack of support from colleagues, unrealistic workloads, insufficient or ineffective training, too little variety and challenge in the work tasks, unclear goals, poor leadership or supervision, and, finally, a conflict between personal achievement and

failure which can lead to self doubt. Cherniss also concluded that several of these dissatisfiers were compounded by the professional isolation of the teaching role. The list is essentially the same as the sources of dissatisfaction which have been previously described.

Cherniss (1980) concluded that there were four different career orientations for public service occupations and that each orientation determined, to a considerable degree, the manner in which an individual would derive satisfaction from a particular work role. "Social activists" express a limited concern for personal security and status; they derive the most satisfaction from helping their clients. "Careerists" derive satisfaction primarily from the prestige, respectability, and financial security associated with the work. They are generally competitive and eager to achieve a higher position. "Artisans" derive their job satisfaction primarily from the intrinsic qualities of the work. Professional growth and development are important. For the "self investor" the career is secondary to personal life. The members of this group are not strongly engaged in their work and find more sources of satisfaction outside the work environment.

Cherniss (1980) suggested that each person is characterized by one or more of these orientations and that this orientation, or combination of orientations, determines how the elements that make up a job are perceived as satisfying or dissatisfying. Cherniss found

that, in public service occupations, the self investor group was the
most prevalent and that this orientation was increasing in popularity.
This would seem to imply that public service workers, including
teachers, are becoming less involved with their work.

Cedoline (1982), in an extensive review of the literature related
to teacher burnout, identified what he considered to be seven major
classes of contributors to the burnout phenomenon. Five of these were
related to the organization or school environment; two were related to
individual differences. The first of the organizational dissatisfiers
he labeled "lack of control over personal destiny." After a review of
several studies, Cedoline concluded that "research data clearly
indicate that greater participation in decision making results in
greater productivity, higher job satisfaction, and lower employee
turnover" (p. 42).

Based on his review, Cedoline concluded that "occupational
feedback and communication" (p. 42) constituted a second major source
of teacher distress and burnout. He suggested that feedback, or the
flow of job-relevant information, from one employee to another, was
critical to job satisfaction. Without this feedback a teacher could
not determine the expectations of the organization, nor the behaviors
which will satisfy job requirements. Feedback was also critical to
the development of job values, objectives, and accomplishments. "This
feedback must be regular, in response to the worker's actions, for

withholding information will lead to distrust and a lack of confidence in superiors" (p. 43). According to Cedoline (1982), open communications allowed for feedback and fostered harmonious relationships and task interdependence.

Cedoline found a third determinant of teacher stress and dissatisfaction in what he labeled "work overload and work underload" (p. 46). Work overload was characterized by long or unpredictable hours, too many responsibilities, too rapid a work pace, constant dealings with difficult people, constant crises, or responsibility for too many people. Work underload was characterized by tedious, boring, or over routinized and repetitive tasks and could be equally dissatisfying and stressful. Cedoline suggested that work overload and underload can be psychological, physical, or social in nature and could be measured either in qualitative or quantitative terms (pp. 46-47).

"Contact overload" was the result of frequent encounters with people in the process of carrying out the job. Teaching necessitates constant interaction with children and, to a lesser extent, with parents. Many of these encounters have the potential for being stressful. Cedoline presented studies to support the suggestion that large contact overloads, as exemplified by large classes, decreased the quality of the service and depersonalized the relationship between teacher and student. In light of the human need to achieve, this could be stressful and dissatisfying for the teacher.

According to Cedoline, "role conflict" and "role overload"
constituted a third source of teacher stress. "Role conflict" was
defined as the "simultaneous occurrence of two or more opposing
pressures, such that compliance with one makes compliance with the
other impossible" (p. 50). An example given by the author described a
principal who received incompatible requests from the teachers and the
central office.

"Role ambiguity" was defined by Cedoline as a discrepancy between
the information available to the employee, and that which was needed
for successful job performance" (p. 52). Role ambiguity was common in
instances involving technological change, such as the introduction of
computers or new teaching materials into the curriculum. In a study
of over 1,250 teachers, Schwab and Iwanicki (1982) found that role
conflict played a significant part in explaining emotional exhaustion,
depersonalization, and lack of achievement in teaching.

Cedoline concluded from his review that most non-organizational
causes of burnout could be categorized as either individual
differences or training deficits. He identified personality, or
orientation, and differences due to sex as the most influential
individual differences. Harris (1985) found that male teachers,
because of a generally more authoritarian nature and different role
perceptions, were more prone to stress.

Caplan and Jones (1975) found that burnout could be
partially determined by a person's occupational status. The higher

that status, the more likely the individual was to be highly involved in the work, and the more prone he therefore was to stress.

Cedoline also identified what he categorized as secondary sources of job dissatisfaction and stress. These included societal changes, information overload, job security, mid-life crises, and an unpleasant work environment. The division between primary and secondary sources seems closely related to the division between intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfiers. All the organizational primary sources are associated with the nature of the work itself, the interaction among people in the performance of the job.

In yet another review of the research on burnout, Cassell (1984) concluded that the causes of burnout could be attributed to four conditions inherent to the teaching occupation. In order of importance they are

1. The negative image the public has of the present school system.

2. The inadequacy of teacher preparation.

3. The ineffectiveness of school management.

4. A focus in schools on other than learning development.

In a study to determine the relationship between stress and burnout, Farber (1984) found that 10% of the suburban teachers in his study and 21% of the urban teachers were, by self-definition, burned out. He concluded from the teachers' responses that the public had

increased their expectations of schools and their teachers as a result of their own increased level of education, while decreasing the resources available to meet these higher expectations.

Farber also concluded that this situation was perfect for fostering burnout. When an individual faces overwhelming odds in an attempt to achieve, but fails in that attempt, the individual can easily become worn out, can give up, and can resent the choice of a teaching career. "Teaching is gratifying," says Farber, "but the profession is not" (p. 329). Farber concluded that stress and dissatisfaction with teaching came from the dissatisfying things that interfered with effective performance on the job.

Schwab and Iwanicki (1982), as well as Anderson and Iwanicki (1984), concluded that burnout was a matter of degree. Total burnout occurred when the teacher left the occupation. Anderson and Iwanicki (1984) concluded that it was the higher-level, self-actualization and esteem needs deficiencies of teachers, which explained the most significant amount of job burnout. They cited a study by Carver and Sergiovanni (1971) which indicated that these deficiencies had increased over the years.

The sources of teacher burnout seem to lie primarily in the working conditions of public education (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1978). They also seem to be universal. In a study of Australian teachers, Leach (1984) identified six conditions common to teaching which he concluded were related to dissatisfaction and stress:

1. pupil misbehavior was high and the management skills to control it were low;

2. teachers held high expectations for their students and the educational program which were unachievable in the present environment;

3. relations with colleagues did not reach expected standards;

4. the demands of the work outstripped available time;

5. resources were inadequate to the demands of the job; and

6. personnel management, especially the lack of professional support, school policies, and school procedures were generally seen as ineffective.

Leach (1984) also noted a direct correlation between the degree of stress and the socioeconomic level of the pupils. This latter finding resembles Farber's (1984) conclusions regarding the differences in degree of satisfaction between urban and suburban teachers in the U.S.

In a study of Canadian teachers, Friesen and Williams (1985) attributed teacher stress to four sources: role overload, unsatisfactory relationships with colleagues, the lack of time resulting from an overly heavy work load, and unsatisfactory relationships with students. Role overload was found to be the most significant predictor of stress, accounting for 22% of the variance, more than the total accounted for by the other factors. Friesen and Williams (1985) summarized their findings on role overload as follows:

> Educators, whether through training or experience, seem
> to sense numerous expectations for their role as teachers.
> They can not fulfill all those expectations, and appear
> constantly under pressure to do things beyond their
> teaching role. [These additional roles include]
> programmers, evaluators, counselors, helpers, planners,
> learners, school representatives, supervisors, role
> models, builders of social conscience, [as well as]
> professional expediters, managers, reporters, and
> custodians. (p. 19)

From the literature on teacher burnout, several conclusions seem

reasonable. One is that the research, to a considerable degree,

supports the Herzberg (1966) theory that dissatisfaction generally

arises from the working conditions in the job, the job context

factors. Interpersonal relationships, between the teacher and either

student, parent, supervisor, or peers, account for a large number of

these context factors. Stressful examples of these relationships, as

well as lack of support, lack of autonomy, lack of feedback, excessive

routine, and excessive workload are all factors which, to some degree

can be controlled by the organization.

There are limits to this line of reasoning, however, for all

these elements are primarily dissatisfying in that they inhibit the

teacher in his or her quest for achievement, which has been shown to

be among the most potent sources of satisfaction. The authors of

literature on burnout seem to underscore the fact that personal

achievement, as represented by observable student progress, is a

preeminent source of teacher job satisfaction. It seems questionable

to divorce the dissatisfiers and satisfiers from each other when both

are ultimately related to whether the teacher is able to influence student learning, and thus gain satisfaction.

The literature on burnout also seems consistent with expectancy theory in regard to job satisfaction. Several researchers (see Duke, 1984; Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1982) have concluded that teachers often enter the occupation with idealistic goals in regard to working with children and helping society. In most cases, these initial expectancies for achievement are quickly tempered by the realities of the work, and some degree of disillusion or dissatisfaction sets in. The degree of this dissatisfaction varies with individual values and individual characteristics and with the nature of the job. In terms of expectancy theory, the initial expectancies have a high valence but the instrumentality is soon found to be low, and job satisfaction suffers as a consequence. The burnout research shows how, when initial expectancies are not fulfilled, dissatisfaction sets in.

Cherniss' (1980) conclusion that burnout is a matter of degree, is consistent with the proposition that job satisfaction and dissatisfaction represent the composite attitude of a number of contributing sources. Some of these sources are positive and some negative, although the composite may be either. The sources can be in the work, in the work context, or within the individual.

The literature on teacher burnout reinforces the validity of previously identified sources of job dissatisfaction and expands upon

the nature of those sources in relation to stress. The researchers indicate that many of the contributors to stress lie in the higher level deficiencies particular to the occupation. Of primary consequence are deficiences in terms of measurable achievement and satisfying interaction with other adults. The isolation of teachers from other adults in the workplace is a primary source of these deficiencies.

Research on the Professional Status of Teaching

Another body of research related to job satisfaction in teaching concerns the status of teaching in the hierarchy of available jobs: its professionalism. The crux of the issue is whether or not teaching should even be considered as a profession.

Berg (1983) suggested that all occupations are, to some degree, professional and that teaching should be considered quasi-professional. He stated that "teaching does not presuppose professionalism, although teachers have opportunities to act professionally" (p. 173).

According to Berg (1983), four qualities determine whether or not an occupation is a profession. First, it should be a service occupation, based on a body of specialized theoretical knowledge. Second, it should be practiced within a set of ethical rules. Third, it should be united by a high degree of group solidarity, arising from common training and a common adherence to doctrines and methods.

Fourth, and perhaps most importantly, it should be autonomous. It should be able to institutionalize a monopoly over the knowledge on which it is based and over the service it renders. It should also have control over regulating its practice, determining who will enter its membership, how it will discipline itself, and over the research in the field.

It is in the first and fourth of these elements that teaching falls short of other established professions such as law and medicine. Although significant advances have been made in identifying the components of good teaching, the technological and theoretical bases, which underlie the practice of the occupation, are still underdeveloped (see Good & Brophy, 1984; Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1982). In regard to autonomy, public school teachers typically have little say in major curricular decisions, have no say in who can enter the occupation or what entry standards are used, and no say in how teachers are disciplined (Duke, 1984; Lortie, 1975). Educational research increasingly has become the domain of academic specialists and behavioral scientists who have little or no practical experience in the classroom (see Giroux, Penna, & Pinar, 1981).

If, as suggested in Chapter II, autonomy, as well as status, esteem, and recognition, are sources of job satisfaction, then the research on teacher professionalism would seem to provide useful information in regard to the purposes of this review.

Lortie (1975) pointed out that, for some persons, teaching can represent an increase in status in relation to the occupation of their parents. This statement may be less valid today. Roth (1982), in a review of recent studies, indicated that more able students, those who have considerable options, are avoiding teaching careers. Furthermore, the review indicated that teachers who leave the occupation are generally more able than those who remain. This exodus of able practitioners is primarily attributed to better economic prospects in other fields and to a disillusionment with teaching, stemming from these teachers' inability to achieve the goals that brought them into the classroom in the first place.

Wangberg and Metzger (1982), in a study of New England female elementary teachers, found that these women now have a wider array of career options. Of the women in the sample, 40% would no longer return to teaching if they were able to restart their careers. Studies on the attitudes of male teachers indicate that they are even less likely to remain in teaching if given an alternative (see Duke, 1984; Lortie, 1975). Goodman and Walters, in a 1985 study, found that for some women teaching still represents a high status career because it offers a negotiable balance between work and family life. This result suggests that the perceived status of a job is dependent upon personal values and needs. Ornstein (1981) found that women achieved more status from teaching than did men.

Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (Webster, 1981) defined status as a relative rank in a hierarchy of prestige.. The status of teaching, in relation to other occupations, seems to have diminished. This is not only evidenced by the decrease in the number of high-ability entrants into the occupation, but also by the increasingly negative opinions regarding teaching expressed in public opinion polls (see Duke, 1984; Lortie, 1975).

One source of the public's disenchantment with the schools seems to be the unions; collective bargaining by teachers has not been popular (Lortie, 1975). This is doubly unfortunate for, even at the cost of public goodwill, there is little evidence that union efforts have achieved any substantive increases in salaries (Educational Research Service, 1987). No less a proponent of unions than Albert Shanker (1985), the president of the AFT, has stated that

> unless teachers go beyond collective bargaining to
> professionalism, they will fail in their major
> objectives to preserve public education in the United
> States, and to improve the status of teachers
> economically, socially, and politically. (p. 93)

The public's dissatisfaction with the schools has contributed to what is often referred to as the "accountability movement," an attempt to measure, in quantitative terms, the outcomes of teaching and public education. Beneviste (1985) suggested that the pressure for

accountability can become a sanction on teachers, lowering their professional status and thereby their job satisfaction. In a review of the research literature on teacher evaluation, Duke (1984) concluded that "the negative by-products of premature evaluation, particularly where evaluators are observed with 'hard data' and 'final results' manifest themselves in faculty suspicion and unwillingness to cooperate" (p. 103).

Pritchard (1983) conducted an experiment to determine whether the educational level of the general populace affected the status of teachers in the society. He compared teacher status in Germany, which has an industrialized and highly-educated society, to teacher status in Ireland, a rural, less-educated society. Pritchard found a higher degree of self-perceived status and job satisfaction among the Irish teachers, even though their material rewards from the job were less than those of the German teachers in relation to each other and in relation to the rest of the population in their respective countries. From these data, Pritchard concluded that occupational status was a function of the teachers' relative educational standing in the society, and that this relative status was a source of job satisfaction.

A review of the research on teacher professionalism provides several conclusions regarding the status of teaching in relation to other occupations. Although teaching has some of the elements which

determine professional status, others are missing. Deficiencies of particular consequence to this study include the lack of control teachers have over the occupation and the weakness of the theoretical body of knowledge on which to base and measure practices. These two deficiencies undermine the autonomy of teachers and their ability to receive feedback on professional performance. They thus contribute to job dissatisfaction.

Whether it is due to apathy, fatalism, or genuine enthusiasm, researchers (see Galloway, Boswell, Pankhurst, Boswell, & Green, 1985; Lortie, 1975) indicate that the majority of teachers express some degree of satisfaction with their jobs. However, both the burnout researchers and the researchers on teacher professionalism call attention to the fact that this is less true now than previously. The more able candidates for teaching positions are increasingly avoiding the occupation. It is the same teachers who are most likely to leave the profession. The large volume of the literature in regard to burnout, focusing almost exclusively on the negative aspects of teaching, indicates that the occupation is not as satisfying as it could be.

The public as well as prospective entrants into the occupation judge teaching, on a comparative basis, with alternative career choices. The relative standing of teaching, in relation to other occupations, reflects its status. The status of teaching has suffered in the past few decades due to its professional deficiencies, as well

as to changes in society. Although particular elements of teaching still elevate its status for those with special needs, the overall effects of these societal changes has been to make the professional rewards of public school teaching less attractive in comparison to the rewards offered through other careers.

Organizational Climate Research

In _A Place Called School_, John Goodlad (1983) concluded that although public schools varied little in regard to curriculum, instruction, student interests, and teacher competence and there were significant differences in the way effective schools "conduct their business and in the way people in them relate to one another in conducting that business" (p. 264). These social components, which seem to differentiate good schools from less effective ones, have been studied in a body of research most commonly labeled as "school climate." This research represents another source of information on the satisfiers and dissatisfiers of teaching, especially in regard to interpersonal relations.

School climate seems to be a function of essentially the same variables addressed in relation to Vroom's conception of expectancy theory and Homan's theory of group dynamics. The key components are the expectations, norms, values, and patterns of interaction within a school (Brookover, 1978; Sarason, 1971). Equating the positive input variables in the determination of school climate to job satisfiers and

the negative variables to job dissatisfiers provides further information concerning the causes and nature of job satisfaction in teaching.

One input variable for a positive school climate seems to be the nature of the organization's leadership. In an article for _American Education_, Eicholtz (1984) suggested that the key input for a positive school climate was a principal who provides a positive role model, who was visible, who provided rewards and incentives, and who was actively involved with the teachers in ongoing planning and assessment. This implies that a cooperative work atmosphere is a source of job satisfaction, an assertion supported by previously-cited work regarding teacher input into decision making.

Glenn (1981) found that positive school climate is fostered through distributive leadership as well as instructional leadership. A principal must be willing to incorporate staff input into the process of planning for specific goals. Glenn also suggested that administrative efforts to assure "discipline and order in a supportive atmosphere" (p. 433) were characteristic of positive school climate. Brookover (1978) and Barr (1979) also cited these elements as important determinants of climate.

Several researchers have claimed that school size is related to school climate. Goodlad (1983) suggested that for effective operation school units should be kept to levels of 100 students in the

elementary and 160 in the high school. The proposed benefits of such a structure included better understanding of pupil needs, based on intimate teacher-student interaction. Goodlad maintained that smaller school units correlate with improved student performance. Goodlad's conceptualization of the ideal school size relates closely to the advantages, identified by Homans (1950), of working with a primary group.

Several researchers have addressed academic focus in the curriculum as a necessary ingredient for positive school climate. Glenn (1981) stated that effective schools emphasize the importance of specific goals, usually related to basic skills acquisition. Clauset and Gaynor (1982) found that a "climate that underscores the importance of instruction can achieve significant [pupil performance] gains" (p. 58). If student achievement is a source of job satisfaction, then these climate variables would seem to be instrumental in the job satisfaction process.

Douglas Heath (1967) stated that by ignoring the humanistic aspects of schooling educators have created a paradox. Billions of dollars have been spent on the expansion and modernization of school facilities and equipment. In spite of these expenditures, schools are characterized by "strikes and protests, [and] teachers that are apprehensive, bewildered and uncertain about the relevance of what they are doing" (p. vii). Heath went on to say that all of the

members of the public school community were prisoners of a
"dehumanized system" (p. viii). Heath's findings suggested that
teacher job satisfaction depends, to a considerable degree, on the
quality of the interpersonal relations within the school.

The most widely cited characteristic of positive school climate
was a high level of expectation within the school. Studies by
Brookover (1982), the California Department of Education (1980), Glenn
(1981), Purkey and Smith (1983), and Rutter (1981) identified high
expectations for students by teachers and high expectations by
teachers for themselves, as crucial ingredients of a positive school
climate. Clauset and Gaynor (1982) stated that in an effective school
expectations were always higher than current achievement. They
concluded that this was necessary because effectiveness is a
developmental process in which success leads to more success.

Adams, Shea, and Kacherguis (1978) included high
self-expectations by teachers as a measurement of positive school
climate. They suggested that high self-concepts and positive
attitudes on the part of individuals or groups within the school
organization were highly correlated with similar attitudes within the
total organization. When levels of self-aspiration increased,
performance levels followed.

In another analysis of school climate, Gregory and Smith (1982)
examined how alternative schools provided for the basic needs of their

members. This experiment was conducted using Maslow's hierarchy of needs, starting with security needs and progressing to self-actualization. In comparing alternative school to traditional schools, Gregory and Smith (1982) concluded that alternative schools were better able to establish a positive school climate because they were small, were informal, and were therefore better able to direct themselves to the specific needs of the clientele.

Douglas Heath (1967) suggested that educational effectiveness depended upon the development of "an educative atmosphere, educable and mature adults, and shared expectations" (p. 161). Heath concluded that in order to develop a positive school climate, schools must promote "allocentric maturity" in each student and faculty member. Allocentrism was defined as an orientation to persons other than one's self. Allocentric maturity implies tolerance, empathy, and an ability to see and accept differing points of view. Heath concluded that this could be achieved by analyzing exactly what it was that schools should teach and why and by then integrating the fragmented parts of the curriculum into a framework relevant to the human experience. Heath implied that without clear goals satisfaction in the work environment was unlikely.

The researchers of school climate emphasize the importance of harmonious social interaction as a source of job satisfaction. Not only is the harmony important in itself, but it seems to be a major

determinant of student achievement, which also influences satisfaction. The importance of high expectations and clear goals as a precondition to student achievement was also emphasized.

Several researchers expanded on the nature of the sources of job satisfaction previously reviewed. They showed how effective supervisory actions can contribute to the phenomenon. They clarified the types of teacher expectations which are influential. They suggested that orderliness and goal clarity are important contributors to satisfaction. And finally, they demonstrated that school size, as it relates to the quality of personal interaction, can also be a determinant of overall satisfaction.

Research on Teacher Efficacy

In the 1970s, research on the factors which differentiated effective from noneffective schools was labeled as school climate. This label became less prevalent after 1980, but the same general themes have received continued attention under the label of "school effectiveness." This is evidenced by the fact that prior to 1979 there were multiple listings under "school climate" in the Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE) and no listings under "school effectiveness." From 1980 through 1986 the CIJE listings under "school effectiveness" increased dramatically, while "school climate" listings virtually disappeared, or were included with the "school effectiveness" articles. One part of the school effectiveness

research focuses on the self-perceptions of the teacher in regard to the quality or "efficacy" of his or her teaching.

In a paper designed to promote improvements in teacher training, Ashton (1984) provided a summary of this research in a manner that parallels the research on job satisfaction. She defined teacher efficacy as "teachers' beliefs that they have the power to influence student performance" (p. 28). McClelland (1965) and the other proponents of achievement motivation theory, suggested that job satisfaction is, to a significant degree, determined by the level of achievement an individual perceives in the work experience. If this is true, then a sense of efficacy, in relation to student performance, would seem to be a source of satisfaction in teaching.

Ashton (1984) summarized her research to show how the nature of teaching inhibits teacher efficacy. She suggested that efficacy in teaching is evidenced by several components: a sense of personal accomplishment, positive expectations for student behavior and performance, feelings of personal responsibility for student learning, strategies for achieving objectives, a sense of control, a sense of common student-teacher goals, positive feelings about teaching, and democratic decision making (p. 29). She stated that "the lack of collegial and administrative support [in teaching] and the sense of being powerless that comes from limited collegial decision making, make it difficult for teachers to maintain a strong sense of efficacy" (p. 28).

An examination of the nature of teaching in relation to the components Ashton (1984) said are necessary for efficacy reinforces her argument. The low level of technology associated with teaching, the difficulties inherent in measuring learning, the lack of clarity in regard to the goals and objectives of teaching, and the limited feedback resulting from teacher isolation all inhibit a sense of accomplishment. The lack of technology and the demonstrated ineffectiveness and irrelevance of present teacher training, restrict available strategies. Research cited earlier has shown that teachers rarely exert professional control outside the classroom, and that they have little voice in professional decisions. This lack of professional participation, in turn, inhibits the degree to which teachers can take responsibility for student learning. As with the research on burnout, the authors of teacher efficacy literature suggested that there are many aspects of teaching, as presently practiced in the United States' public schools, which are potential sources of job dissatisfaction. Researchers also suggested that in U.S. public school teaching the major determinants of job satisfaction: those derived from achievement, autonomy, responsibility and harmonious professional affiliation, are limited.

Research on Teacher Type

The theoretical research reviewed in Chapter II provided evidence that personality or personal orientation has a distinct bearing on the

determination of job satisfaction (see McClelland, 1965; Vroom, 1982).
The review of the general research on job satisfaction for teachers
reviewed earlier in this chapter provided further evidence that
personal values may modify the attitudes an individual has toward
work. However, because personality characteristics are so difficult
to measure, the research in this area has been limited and fragmented.

If there is any validity to the conclusion that personality to
some extent modifies the way individuals find satisfaction in their
work, then the identification of commonalities in personal orientation
among a work group might help to explain how job satisfaction is
determined for that group. One body of research, the results of the
Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), has been used to measure one facet
of personality, psychological type with regard to the manner in which
individuals perceive and judge their environment. Frequency
distributions for the results of repeated applications of the MBTI
have been collected for many occupations within society, including
teaching. There are MBTI frequency distributions for teachers in
general, as well as separate norms for elementary, middle school, high
school, and university teachers respectively. These results provide a
profile of one facet of the personality of teachers. Through
comparison, this research might be used to determine whether the
overseas teachers in this study are atypical of the general U.S.
teaching population with regard to psychological type.

A discussion of psychological type and the MBTI is presented in Chapter V along with the MBTI findings for the overseas teachers. The discussion was placed at that point in the dissertation to place the findings in context and to enable the reader to make easy comparisons between the MBTI distributions for U.S. teachers and the overseas teacher distributions. A more detailed account of the MBTI and its applications can be found in the manual for MBTI use (Myers & McCaulley, 1985).

Summary and Propositions

Job satisfaction, especially when examined in the context of public school teaching, seems to be a complex phenomenon. As evidenced by the volume of the preceding review, the topic of job satisfaction in general has been of considerable research interest. This research is fragmented and, in regard to the occupation of teaching, it is limited. However, in light of the research, a few conclusions in regard to the structure of the process which determines teacher job satisfaction seem appropriate.

In order to describe this structure, a set of assertions, or propositions, which distill the research findings discussed in Chapter II and Chapter III are presented in the following summary. Proposition 1 and its subparts and proposition 2 reflect the general research on job satisfaction across occupations. Proposition 3 and its subparts reflect research on job satisfaction specifically within

public school teaching in the United States. These propositions
provide a framework within which the overseas teaching experience can
be analyzed on a comparative basis with what is prevalent in the
United States public schools.

Proposition 1

The research indicates that overall job satisfaction is
the composite or product of many partial satisfiers and
dissatisfiers originating from three sources: the
perceived rewards of the job itself, the perceived
rewards arising from the context in which the job is
done, and the characteristics of the individual which
determine the degree to which each facet is satisyfing
or dissatisfying.

Job satisfaction research is based on the hedonistic principle
that humans usually act rationally in ways that will maximize pleasure
and minimize discomfort. Within this context, researchers on the
topic, starting with Hoppock (1935), have suggested that job
satisfaction arises out of a process. This process is dependent upon
job-related elements which are potential sources of satisfaction or
dissatisfaction. Subsequent research to that of Hoppock (Herzberg,
Mausner, & Snydermann, 1959; Homans, 1950; McClelland, 1965; Vroom,
1964) has clarified both the sources of job satisfaction and the
process by which these sources interact to produce positive or

negative attitudes about the job. This research has generally characterized the sources of job satisfaction in terms of either intrinsic or extrinsic factors. More recent researchers have concentrated on the characteristics which moderate the degree of satisfaction a given individual derives from these sources.

Proposition 1A. Researchers have indicated that there are five major categories of intrinsic rewards which determine job satisfaction:

1. rewards derived from a sense of personal achievement;

2. rewards derived from feelings of autonomy in doing the work;

3. rewards derived from recognition for the work;

4. rewards derived from affiliation with others in doing the work; and

5. rewards derived from the perceived equity, relative to other work situations, of the psychic and material benefits received in exchange for the work.

These intrinsic rewards, or satisfiers, represent the attitudes, or feelings, of satisfaction in themselves. They are psychological states within the individual. There is undoubtedly a significant degree of interdependence among these constructs, and to categorize them arbitrarily under these five headings may ignore other terms

which would be equally comprehensive. However, for the purposes of this investigation, categorization was necessary for analysis, and these categories seemed adequate to the task of covering each of the intrinsic areas of job satisfaction referred to in the literature.

Of these five categories of rewards, those derived from personal achievement seem to be of preeminent importance, and most of the work-context elements serve, to some degree, to determine degrees of achievement. The researchers indicated that when, for the working population in general and the teaching population in particular, individual differences were held constant, achievement rewards were consistently perceived to be primary sources of satisfaction (see Herzberg, 1966; Lortie, 1975; Maslow, 1954; McClelland, 1965).

The conceptualization of rewards due to achievement, as described here, incorporated satisfaction derived from feelings of professional growth and advancement. This conceptualization is similar to that of Alderfer (1969), who restricted the needs hierarchy to three levels: existence, recognition, and growth. Instances of advancement and growth, included here under the heading of achievement, did not refer to opportunities for growth or advancement, but to actual results.

Intrinsic rewards derived from personal autonomy are closely related to those derived from achievement, for only when the individual is able to feel ownership for an accomplishment will a sense of achievement be fully realized. Although they can be

considered as two distinct categories, rewards derived from a sense of responsibility have been included with the autonomy rewards. They are difficult to separate, for both imply ownership, and both are the manifestations of the trust of others. Both contribute to self-esteem.

Many of the researchers of teacher professionalism and teacher burnout indicated that individuals have an innate need to control their own destinies. When personal autonomy or responsibility was present, satisfaction with the job, in regard to personal achievement, generally increased; when autonomy was limited or absent, job satisfaction was threatened.

Satisfaction derived from recognition is usually based on achievement, but is externally rather than internally oriented. Recognition can come from individuals in the form of positive feedback or praise, or can come from the work group or society, in which case it constitutes status. In either circumstance it seems to be a source of intrinsic job satisfaction.

Homans (1950) provided a cogent argument for affiliation as a determinant of intrinsic job satisfaction. He concluded from his research that all individuals have a basic need to belong, and that for work groups, as for groups in any other environment, individuals find satisfaction in being an accepted and functioning part of a productive organization. The fulfillment of this belongingness need,

the need for affiliation, was classified here as an intrinsic source of job satisfaction because it represented an internal state of consciousness. The specific patterns of interaction, which determine the degree of affiliation satisfaction one derives from a given work environment, are classified as extrinsic or work-context sources of satisfaction and are covered in a subsequent proposition.

Perceived satisfaction in regard to salary and other material rewards is unquestionably dependent, to some extent, on the size of the reward. However, the influences of salary and benefits on job satisfaction are discussed here as a source of intrinsic satisfaction, because in regard to job satisfaction their primary effect seems to be on the higher order needs, particularly on achievement and recognition. For teaching in any United States environment, the reward structure of the occupation generally satisfies basic needs. However, our society often measures personal success in terms of salary and recognizes or gives status on the same basis. The relationship between salary and job satisfaction seems much more dependent on the perceived equity, or appropriateness of the salary, than its size. The satisfying feeling can be described as equity, in the sense that it represents fairness in the perception of the individual.

Proposition 1B. Researchers have indicated that the major sources of job satisfaction in the context of teaching and other work can be categorized under six headings:

1. the nature of the job tasks,

2. the nature of the preparation for these tasks,

3. the nature of the work supervision and evaluation,

4. the nature of the relationship with clients,

5. the nature of collegial relationships, and

6. the nature of the material rewards emanating from
   the work.

The distinction between these six categories and the four job-content sources of satisfaction is important. Where the job content rewards are satisfying in themselves, these context elements control the degree to which the five content categories of satisfiers can be realized. They control the degree to which an individual can achieve, can establish autonomy, can earn recognition, can fulfill needs for affiliation, or can determine equity in extrinsic reward structures. With regard to teaching, each of these six content categories has several characteristics which are described within subsequent propositions.

Proposition 1C. The amount of job satisfaction derived from any source can vary with the individual. The most influential determinants of job satisfaction in an individual include both attitudinal characteristics (such as values, self-esteem, self-confidence, and need strength) and demographic or personal

characteristics (such as sex, age, marital status, abilities, and tenure on the job).

Research has demonstrated that each of these characteristics moderates the degree of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction that an individual derives from work. Data can be collected on physical attributes such as age, sex, and marital status, but data in regard to personal values, is less accessible. For this reason, studies to determine the sources of job satisfaction have traditionally been conducted with personal variables held constant, even though these factors are recognized as influential.

Proposition 2

The degree of job satisfaction derived from any source in the context of the work is primarily a function of three factors: the degree to which the individual values the rewards or outcomes related to that source, the degree to which the expected rewards are realized, and the perceptions of the individual in regard to the appropriateness of the rewards.

The first of these three factors was often labeled as valence (Vroom, 1964). Valence for a particular outcome can change, depending on changes in age, values, relative needs, etc. The characteristics which determine the valence of a work outcome are the characteristics described in proposition 1C.

The degree to which a reward is realized depends primarily on the context of the work as described in proposition 1B. Perceived satisfaction, in regard to achievement in teaching, has been shown to be strongly affected by the nature of the job, the preparation one receives for that job, and all levels of interaction concerned with the job. These researchers suggested that a similar relationship exists between these elements and autonomy, responsibility, and affiliation, respectively.

The characteristics of each occupation, like the characteristics of each worker, are unique. In order to determine the degree of job satisfaction found by teachers in contemporary public schools, one must isolate the characteristics of public school teaching which influence the job satisfaction process. These characteristics are the job context factors referred to in proposition 1B.

Proposition 3

The research indicates that the primary work context determinants in regard to job satisfaction for public school teachers in the United States are a function of the nature of the job. Of specific importance are the following characteristics as related to job requirements: the relation of tasks to available resources, the efficacy of teacher preparation, the nature of supervisory relationships, the nature of client relationships, and the nature of peer relationships.

Proposition 3A. The nature of the training for public school teaching is characterized by extensive expectations and limited resources.

A review of the research on this topic suggested that public expectations for schools have increased during the past two decades. Schools are now expected to accommodate a greater percentage of the population and to accommodate individual differences and needs to a greater degree than ever before. The scope of the public school curriculum has expanded, as schools assumed, or were given, responsibility for goals that were previously delegated to other institutions. Financial revenues to support the schools, the available teaching technology, and the availability of quality personnel have not kept pace with this expansion. A major effect of this dilemma has been to inhibit the degree to which teachers can realize achievement in terms of student performance. Job satisfaction, dependent on that sense of achievement, is threatened.

Proposition 3B. The nature of the training for public school teaching is characterized by irrelevance to the actual work experience resulting in lack of teacher efficacy.

The low level of the technology in teaching and its high degree of professional isolation contribute to this situation. It is

difficult to train candidates to be good teachers if there is limited consensus on what constitutes good teaching. Consequently, teachers often learn by doing. Either because of poorly designed coursework, because of institutional resistance to change, or probably because of both, the research-based improvements in teaching technology are not prevalent in practice. Continuing education for teachers, throughout their careers, is not well supported by the schools. Good examples of teaching are not easily emulated because of the professional isolation experienced by teachers and because ambitious and talented teachers often leave the classroom in search of professional advancement.

The conditions described here have severe ramifications in terms of job satisfaction, particularly in regard to personal achievement. Idealistic beginners find their expectations thwarted by their lack of efficacy, their inability to positively affect pupil performance. The situation also restricts professional growth for mid-career teachers. In general, the lack of commitment to professional growth and the ineffectiveness of teacher training detract from the satisfaction public school teachers can find in their work.

Proposition 3C. The nature of the relationship between public school teachers and their supervisors is characterized by limited professional or social contact, by a bureaucratic structure with rules and regulations, by limited feedback for the teacher, and by decreasing levels of collegiality.

Research has demonstrated how the cellular structure, prevalent in the public schools, limits teacher contact with other adults and mitigates against opportunities for professional interaction. The typical supervisor rarely observes teachers and feedback from the observations that do occur is restricted by the state of teaching technology.

Public school systems have become increasingly centralized (Johns, Morphet, & Alexander, 1983) further isolating teachers from control of their occupation. This tendency toward centralization reinforces bureaucratic structures which, by definition, depersonalize and standardize operations. Curricular decisions increasingly come from central office specialists or others who are equally remote from classroom practice (Giroux, Penna, & Pinar, 1981).

The bureaucratic nature of our public schools has exacerbated the distinction between building administrators and teachers. The principal can no longer be considered as the principal teacher. This differentiation has intensified with the growth of teachers' unions. Union efforts to raise the financial rewards for public school teachers through collective bargaining have alienated public opinion toward teachers and have reinforced the labor-management distinction between teachers and their supervisors.

Proposition 3D. The relationship between public school teachers and their clientele is characterized by decreasing respect for teachers by both parents and students.

In the past few decades, the status of public school teachers has decreased relative to the general population. This seems to be due to several factors. Teachers are no longer part of society's educated elite. The financial rewards derived from teaching are not comparable to other occupations requiring similar amounts of training. Increased concerns regarding student discipline are representative of increasingly stressful working conditions. Because of these conditions and because of the frustrations encountered by many who enter teaching with highly idealistic goals for helping children learn and serving society, the occupation has difficulty attracting and holding quality candidates.

These circumstances have an obvious effect on the job satisfaction of the public school teachers with regard to recognition and status. In addition, the accountability movement, a product of the public's dissatisfaction with the schools, threatens what autonomy and responsibility teachers have previously enjoyed. Without positive feedback from society, the individual perceptions of teachers in regard to whether or not they are achieving worthwhile goals may also be diminished.

Proposition 3E. The relationship between public school teachers and their colleagues is primarily characterized by professional isolation.

Authors of the literature on burnout and the researchers who have conducted studies on teacher professionalism suggested that the typical public-school teacher's isolation from other adults is the most influential characteristic of the work, in regard to job satisfaction. Researchers have indicated that teachers spend most of their time with children and that when they do mingle with peers, they share little of their accumulated knowledge about teaching. There is evidence that many teachers are reluctant to be observed, an unsurprising discovery in view of the fact that no one seems to be sure of what constitutes good teaching. However, many teachers have expressed an interest in observing other teachers, an indication that they crave professional growth.

These circumstances have affected teachers' job satisfaction in several ways. They have limited achievement in terms of professional growth. They have limited opportunities for positive feedback, which could constitute recognition. Although the public school teacher has considerable autonomy within the classroom, isolation has limited teacher autonomy and responsibility with regard to the macro decisions which affect teachers' work lives. Most of all, isolation has threatened perceived rewards in relation to affiliation.

Public schools are rarely characterized by congenial work groups in which each member is contributing to common goals. Rather, public schools are more accurately described in terms of individuals working in isolation toward their own goals or goals imposed from outside the school environment.

If we accept Homans' (1950) contentions, individuals find satisfaction in being part of a positively functioning whole. They seek autonomy and responsibility for their efforts so that they can gain a personal sense of accomplishment and a sense of status or recognition from others in the environment. Individuals are self-driven to use the skills and abilities they possess in pursuit of these types of satisfaction (Maslow, 1954). When workers' expectations for inner satisfaction are thwarted, their satisfaction with the job decreases.

Some individuals' needs are apparently satisfied primarily through personal achievement; others find satisfaction primarily in recognition or autonomy. The primary source of satisfaction for still others can be found in working with people. Whatever type of personality results from an individual's unique combination of values and other characteristics, it will interact with the context factors of the job to produce varying degrees of job satisfaction relative to achievement, autonomy, recognition affiliation, and equity.

The three propositions in this section and their subparts constituted a summary of the literature. In regard to the methodology of the present study, which is described in the subsequent chapter, they also served as a guide to the development of the structured interviews used to secure data.

CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY

The Ethnographic Interview

For this study a research method was needed that could provide
accurate data on the overseas teaching experience of people involved
in it, so that the findings could be analyzed in regard to the
propositions listed at the end of the previous chapter. Specifically,
the method chosen needed to provide accurate descriptions of the
degree to which informants found professional achievement,
professional autonomy, recognition, and pleasant affiliative relations
in their work and an accurate description of the material rewards
which they derived from their work.

Discovering elements of a culture such as those listed above is
the core of qualitative or naturalistic research. Lofland (1971)
stated that the goal of naturalistic research is "to depict what goes
on it [people's] lives, and what life is like for them in such a way
that the [readers] are at least partially able to project themselves
into the point of view of the people depicted" (p. 4). Bogdan and
Taylor (1980), Lofland (1971), and Patton (1984) all agreed that
qualitative research is a discovery process in which the collected
data, rather than a preconceived hypothesis, determine the direction

the investigation will take. Since this investigator sought to discover and to accurately depict the job attitudes of successful teachers in a specific work setting, this qualitative methodology seemed the most appropriate.

The specific qualitative method chosen for this study was the Ethnographic Interview Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) developed by Spradley (1979) to study cultures within a society. Although the work situation of the U.S.-recruited overseas teacher might not represent a culture in the strict sense, it has the same basic characteristics. Spradley defined culture as "the shared knowledge of a group which arises from the way its members interpret or give meaning to experiences and behaviors. Culture, as a shared system of meanings, is learned, revised, maintained, and defined in the context of people interacting" (p. 6). It is the perceived commonalities of the work and living situations of the overseas teachers, and how these commonalities influence job attitudes, that are the focuses of this study.

In his definition of the ethnographic interview process, Spradley (1979) equated it with the conceptualization of "symbolic interactionism" (Blumer, 1969). Symbolic interactionism is based on three principles. First, people react toward things based on the meanings those things have for them. Second, the meaning of these experiences or behaviors is derived from the social interaction the

people have with others. And, finally, these meanings are developed
and modified through an interpretive process used by the person to
deal with the things he or she encounters (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). The
interviews in the present study focused on the meanings the overseas
teaching experience had for its practitioners and on the modification
of these meanings as informants interacted with people in overseas
school communities and moved from one overseas school to another.

In practice, Spradley's DRS follows a logical sequence. The
culture, in this case the work setting of the successful
U.S.-recruited teacher, was identified. Appropriate informants were
identified. Interviews with these informants were begun, and an
ongoing process of analysis started with the first interview. As each
interview was analyzed, information was categorized and, when
appropriate, the resulting conclusions were used to modify the
structure of subsequent interviews. Following the analysis of the
last interview, an ethnographic record was written.

Defining the Culture

This researcher focused on the work attitudes of 57
U.S.-recruited teachers who were employed in American/International
schools. Of these 57 teachers, 50 were designated as "successful"
U.S.-recruited teachers because they had been nominated as such by
more than one administrator and had worked in more than one overseas
school or in one school under more than one administrator. The other

7 informants were married to one of the successful teachers, but did not meet fully the criteria for classification as successful teachers themselves. The culture described in the investigation was determined by the shared knowledge of the informants, who were teachers in this work setting.

Locating the Informants

Spradley (1979) identified four minimal requirements for a good informant. The informant should be thoroughly enculturated. The informant should be currently active in the culture under study. The informant must be able to provide adequate time for interviews. And, finally, the informant should be able to provide information without analyzing its significance. The teachers identified for this study met the first three criteria and interviews were structured to minimize analysis and to maximize description. Because of the diverse and often remote locations of the informants, one extensive interview, rather than a series of shorter contacts, was used to assure adequate time.

Of 82 superintendents contacted for this study, 69 responded with the names of one or more teachers or teaching pairs, who the administrators felt had been successful in adapting to the overseas-school working and living situation. These responses yielded 433 nominations of teachers or teacher pairs, 44 of which were named on more than one list. The 44 repeated nominations included 74 teachers:

14 individuals and 60 members of teaching pairs. In February 1986, a
letter was sent to these 74 nominees requesting their participation in
this research. Of those contacted, 72 responded affirmatively,
although 5 were subsequently eliminated because they were no longer
employed overseas.

Interviewing the Informants

Of the remaining nominees, 52 were interviewed personally by the
researcher between May and November 1986. Interviews were conducted
at the work sites of 22 teachers in Asia, 6 at their work sites in
Europe, and 24 in the eastern and midwestern United States during
their summer holidays.

Two of the remaining five informants were interviewed by phone
while they were in the United States. The remaining three nominees
were contacted by phone and the purpose of the study and a description
of its requirements were introduced. A detailed questionnaire and
interview guide (see Appendix I) were then sent to these informants
and they returned the completed questionnaire and their taped
responses to the questions posed on the guide.

Interviews were held in school classrooms, in offices, and in
informants' homes. The structure of the interview followed that of
the guide. The researcher had previously met more than half of the
informants during visits to overseas schools or during recruiting
fairs held in the United States. In all cases there were common

acquaintances between the researcher and informant. This familiarity seemed to facilitate the establishment of rapport during the initial stages of the interview and made the researcher's interest in the topic easier to explain.

The initial part of each interview was used to explain the purposes of the project and the researcher's background. This was followed by a few minutes of questions addressed to the personal characteristics of the teachers defined in Chapter I. In the next phase of each interview, the informants were asked to describe their motives for seeking overseas employment and their experiences in securing their first overseas teaching position.

The third, and longest section of the interview, addressed the aspects of the work culture of interest to the study: the satisfactions and dissatisfactions associated with the working and living conditions experienced by the informants in the overseas schools. Spradley (1979) suggested that this part of an ethnographic interview should contain three categories of questions: descriptive, structural, and comparative. Each corresponds to separate functions within the developmental research sequence.

Descriptive questions, such as those directly related to the overseas work and living experience, provided information and helped the researcher establish rapport with the informant. Spradley suggested that this rapport develops when informants are given ample

opportunity to talk and when the researcher shows interest and attention by constantly maintaining eye contact, by often restating answers to clarify meanings, and by probing the informant's answers to expand upon the descriptions made.

In applying Spradley's DSR format to this study, the informants were initially asked to describe their overseas work situations. They were then asked to relate specific instances, within the work or living experience in each overseas environment, which they had found particularly pleasant or unpleasant. Following the description of these experiences, the informants were asked to relate what made each instance satisfying or dissatisfying to them. The same procedure was used by Herzberg and his associates in their 1959 study of work attitudes in other settings (Herzberg, Mausner, & Snydermann, 1959).

Structural questions are asked of the informant to clarify semantic relationships between terms, thus assisting in the categorization of information. These questions assisted the researcher in focusing the study on several main themes. The responses to these structural questions established several types of relationships: causal, spatial, sequential, functional, etc. Examples of structural questions provided by Spradley (1980) take these forms: "is X a reason for Y?, is X an example of Y?, or is X the way to do Y?" (p. 117-118).

In the interviews for the present study, structural questions were usually more open ended, such as "what is this situation an

example of?" and were used to determine the causes or nature of the elements of job satisfaction as described in the propositions and/or to expand the descriptions of satisfying or dissatisfying incidents. When the informant did not volunteer that a certain incident was an example of autonomy, recognition, or another of the elements of job satisfaction described in the propositions, the question was sometimes stated as, "is this a reason for feeling a sense of achievement," or "is this an example of autonomy?"

Comparative questions allowed the researcher to clarify the relationships among the themes that had been discovered and to assign meaning or importance to those relationships. In this context, Spradley (1979) identified what he labeled as the "discovery principle": "the meaning of a symbol can be discovered by finding out how it is related to other symbols" (p. 156).

In this study, after descriptions of specific incidents had been exhausted, comparative questions were employed to elicit further information on the nature of overseas teachers' job satisfaction and its causes. The informants were asked to compare the relative satisfaction among their separate overseas assignments, as well as between their overseas experiences and teaching in the United States. As a summary exercise, informants were asked to describe the most and least satisfying aspects of their overseas teaching experience and to contribute any further information that they felt would help to

clarify the positive and negative attitudes they had toward their work.

Ethnographic interviews provide a wealth of information, not all of which can be used at once. To make this investigation manageable, the researcher needed to concentrate on a few areas. In this case the focus was established by the interview data as it related to the propositions listed at the end of the previous chapter. Structural questions assisted the researcher in classifying the interview data as examples of achievement, of autonomy, or of other relevant characteristics of the work. Comparative questions were then used to discover the specific nature of those focal topics.

The final section of each interview involved the administration of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (1976). This instrument was employed to determine whether there were commonalities in the thinking preferences of this group of teachers which might differentiate them from the typical population of teachers in the United States. The results of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) have been normed for public school teachers in the United States, with separate breakdowns for elementary, middle school, secondary, and university teaching assignments.

Interviews, excluding the administration of the MBTI, ranged in duration from 1.75 hours to almost 3 hours. Typically they lasted just over 2 hours.

The Ethnographic Record

The data derived from the interviews were recorded in three ways. During the course of each interview, brief notes, in regard to major ideas and conclusions, were written on the interview guide. Following each interview, more extensive notes were taken in a journal. The tapes from each interview were transcribed by listening to short sections of the interview, summarizing that section, and then repeating the section of the tape to transcribe useable quotes verbatim. These three sources provided the data for analysis.

Analyzing the Data

There are three analytical steps in the DRS: a domain analysis, a taxonomic analysis, and a componential analysis (Spradley, 1979). Since the process is one of discovery, these steps were repeated throughout the interviewing process so that information discovered in one interview could be used to structure later interviews and to refocus the investigation.

Domain Analysis

Within the DRS (Spradley, 1979) the domain analysis is an attempt to organize the data by defining it within cultural domains. Cultural domains are categories of meanings which can be included under a "cover term." Spradley gave an example of this process from his study of tramps in the Seattle area. The label "flop" is a cover term for kinds of places where tramps sleep. In his investigation, Spradley

(1979) found that this term was used in reference to all-night laundromats, hotel lobbies, boxcars, and alleys.

Cover terms provide patterns within the collected information. For the present study, cover terms were sought which related to sources of teacher job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Cover terms for this study were derived, whenever appropriate, from the propositions. The researcher was looking for examples of autonomy, recognition, affiliation, etc. and for elements in the context of the work described that were related to the context factors described in the propositions. In addition to examples of these labels, several other cover terms were identified and these became the section titles for Chapters V, VI, and VII.

Taxonomic Analysis

The taxonomic analysis of the data served to focus the research. Spradley (1979) stated that, following the domain analysis, "one can either carry out a surface analysis of as many domains as possible, or can conduct an indepth analysis of a limited number of domains" (p. 134). The first of these two alternatives describes a holistic approach to a culture and implies large outlays of time and other resources. Spradley suggested that most researchers adopt a compromise position, studying a few selected domains in depth, while providing a surface analysis of the whole culture.

The taxonomy of the present study followed the latter alternative. Once domains were established from an initial review of

the collected data, further analysis focused on those categories of information which were relevant to the propositions listed at the end of Chapter III.

Componential Analysis

Domain analysis is used to identify the categories of information; structural analysis is used to focus the investigation. Componential analysis is the method used to search for contrasts in the information and sorts these contrasts. In doing so, the relationship between domains is clarified.

In reference to the present study, the findings on overseas teachers' job satisfaction were compared to the propositions regarding the job satisfaction of U.S. teachers. Conclusions were then drawn regarding the nature, causes, and degree of job satisfaction in the overseas school setting, in comparison to what the research has indicated is prevalent in the United States public schools.

Discovering Cultural Themes

The final step in the analysis of the data was to identify the cultural themes present in the data. Spradley (1979) defined cultural themes as "any cognitive principle, tacit or explicit, recurrent in a number of domains and serving as a relationship among subsystems of cultural meaning" (p. 186). Several of the techniques, identified by Spradley (1979) for identifying cultural themes, were used in this study.

Spradley labeled one of these techniques as immersion. Immersion implies that the researcher spends large amounts of time in the

cultural scene. In this case, Immersion was achieved through the
lengthy interviews with the informants, through extensive review of
the tapes of those interviews, and through visits to the overseas
schools.

A second technique was labeled by Spradley (1979) as making a
cultural inventory. For this study lists were made of identified
cultural domains within the overseas teachers' work environment. A
few of the list headings for this exercise were relations with
administrators, facilities, and meeting people. Specific examples of
work and living experiences were also collected and reviewed. Readily
identified categories here included housing, friends, and travel.
As the process continued, unidentified domains were extrapolated from
the first list and were addressed in later interviews. The teachers'
descriptions of their work situations were reviewed to determine the
components of their jobs. Use of this componential analysis enabled
the investigator to search for kinds of people, kinds of duties, steps
in getting hired and in carrying out the work, places mentioned in the
interviews in relation to work or travel, and other commonalities.
Another search was made for patterns among the informants' comparisons
of the different overseas schools in which they had taught.

As a final step in the DRS, Spradley (1979) suggested that these
separate analyses be reviewed to determine what themes were universal
and then compared to similar cultural scenes. In the present study,

the findings from the American-International school teaching experience were compared to the teaching experience of U.S. public school teachers as described in the research literature.

Reliability Check

In order to check the degree to which the researcher's prior experiences or biases might have influenced his treatment of the interview data, a reliability check was conducted with the aid of a faculty member of the University of Florida, College of Education, Department of Educational Leadership. This individual was given a set of tapes recorded in interviews with a teaching pair who had worked in both a small school in a remote location and a large school in a cosmopolitan setting. The faculty member was asked to listen to the tapes and then answer several questions. He was asked to provide his impressions with regard to why the couple chose to teach abroad. He was asked to describe what he perceived to be the satisfiers and dissatisfiers the teaching pair found in both the living and working situations in the two overseas environments. He was asked to describe his perceptions with regard to how the teaching pair compared these two overseas work situations to each other and how they compared both to teaching in the United States. The perceptions which the faculty member derived from the tapes were consistent with the findings of the researcher, not only for this tape, but for the study as a whole.

Reporting the Findings

Reporting the findings of a true ethnographic study is heavily influenced by the nature of the exercise. Since the process is one of discovery as opposed to testing, the thesis of the presentation follows, rather than precedes, the analysis of the data.

In Chapters V, VI, and VII, respectively, are presented the findings in relation to the demographics of the successful U.S.-recruited teachers, in relation to their descriptions of living in American/International school environments, and in relation to their descriptions of their working situations in that same environment. In Chapter VIII these findings are analyzed in the context of the propositions derived from the theoretical and research literature. In Chapter IX the researcher developed the thesis from these findings.

CHAPTER V
THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF SUCCESSFUL OVERSEAS TEACHERS

The first of the research questions presented in the introduction
is addressed in this chapter: What, if any, are the commonalities
among this group of successful overseas teachers which might identify
them as distinct from other populations? The 57 informants
interviewed for this study were teachers whose present and past
teaching experience had included postings in 55 separate schools in
Africa, Asia, Europe, and South America. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show the
locations of these individuals at the time they first went abroad, at
the time the interviews were conducted, and at other times in their
overseas careers.

The 57 informants included the following: 50 members of teaching
pairs, in which both husband and wife were teachers, 2 married
teachers whose spouses did not teach, and 4 unmarried teachers. For
38 of the informants who were part of a teaching pair, both husband
and wife had been nominated at least twice as outstanding and
therefore met the criteria for successful overseas teachers. For
the 12 other informants who were part of a teaching pair, 1 member of
the pair had been nominated only once or not at all. These 6 teachers
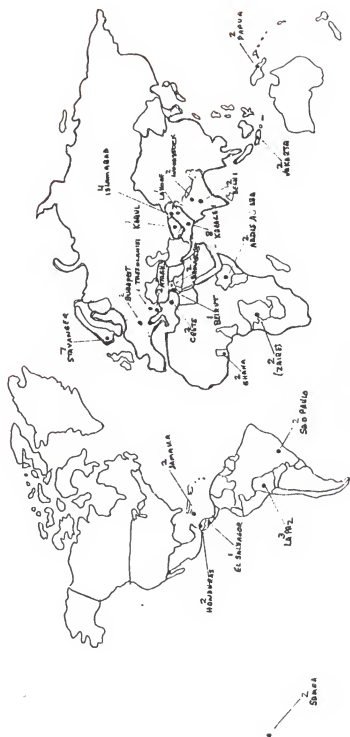were also interviewed as part of a successful overseas teaching
family.

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Figure 1. Locations of informants for first overseas contract.

Figure 2. Locations of all overseas schools in which informants had taught.

Figure 2—continued

Map Key

1. Aberdeen, Scotland
2. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
3. Amman, Jordan
4. Athens, Greece
5. Bangkok, Thailand
6. Beirut, Lebanon
7. Bucharest, Romania
8. Budapest, Hungary*
9. Cairo, Egypt*
10. Damascus, Syria
11. Delhi, India*
12. Den Haag, Netherlands*
13. Dharhan, Saudi Arabia (SAIS)
14. Dharhan, (ARAMCO)
15. Domincan Republic
16. Dusseldorf, FDR
17. El Salvador (Int. School)
18. Florence, Italy
19. Ghana (VALCO)
20. Isfahan, Iran
21. Islamabad, Pakistan*
22. Jakarta, Indonesia**
23. Jamaica
24. Kabul, Afghanistan
25. Karachi, Pakistan**
26. Kinshasa, Zaire
27. Kobe, Japan
28. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia*
29. Lahore, Pakistan
30. La Paz, Bolivia

31. Lima, Peru
32. London, England (ASIL)
33. Lusaka, Zambia
34. Madrid, Spain
35. Manila, Philipines
36. Manuagua, Nicaragua
37. Nairobi, Kenya
38. Papua, New Guinea
39. Paris, France
40. Quito, Ecuador
41. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
42. Pago Pago, Samoa
43. Sao Paulo, Brazil
44. Sao Paulo, Brazil
    (Chapel School)
45. El Salvador
    (Escuela Americana)
46. Singapore, (SAS)*
47. Stavanger, Norway*
48. Sussex, England
49. Taipei, Taiwan
50. Teguicgalpa, Honduras
51. Thessolaniki, Greece
52. Tripoli, Lybia
53. Udorn, Thailand
54. Mussoorie, India
55. Younde, Cameroon

* More than 5 informants worked in this school.
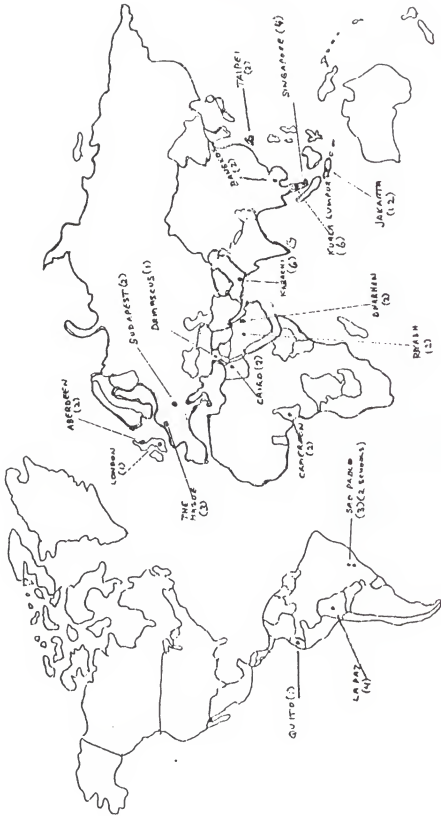** More than 10 informants worked in this school.

Figure 3. Location of informants at time of interview.

Background and Demographic Characteristics

All but four of the informants were American citizens. One teaching pair held Canadian citizenship and one pair held British citizenship. All were currently working in American/International schools sponsored by the A/OS office in the United States Department of State. All were of Caucasian extraction.

The distribution of ages for the informants, at the time they accepted their first overseas teaching assignment, ranged from 22 through 44 years, although only five were above the age of 31 when they began teaching abroad. Table 1 shows the complete age distribution.

Table 1

Informants' Age Distribution at the Time of Overseas Employment

Age	Frequency	Age	Frequency
22	5	29	5
23	4	30	5
24	5	31	4
25	8	33	1
26	6	34	2
27	5	37	1
28	5	44	1
		TOTAL:	57

As suggested by the median age of the informants, their experience teaching in U.S. schools before going abroad was limited. The average amount of U.S. public or private school experience for the informants, at the time they first went abroad, was under 4 years. Thirteen of the informants had either no experience at all or only practice teaching before going abroad to teach and for all practical purposes began their teaching careers in an overseas setting. Approximately 60% of the informants had from 2 to 6 years of U.S. experience before teaching abroad. Three of the informants had taught in private schools, the rest in public school systems.

Eleven of the informants reported teaching in the U.S. between overseas assignments. In only one case was this U.S. experience for more than 2 years. With this additional U.S. school exposure, the average amount of U.S. teaching experience for the informants averaged just over 4 years per person.

All the informants held a bachelors degree from a U.S. university or the equivalent from another country. Twenty-five prepared for teaching with a degree in education or physical education. The areas of undergraduate study for the remainer were varied. Forty-three of the informants went directly into teaching upon completing their undergraduate degree. Three spent time in the Peace Corps, three were in the armed services, and the remainder reported holding a variety of jobs before beginning their teaching careers.

At the time the informants went abroad to teach, 39 held a
bachelors degree, or its equivalent, and an additional 19 had earned a
degree above the bachelors. An additional 19 of the informants had
since earned their master's degree and one had completed his Ph.D.

Of the 25 teaching pairs who were married at the time they went
abroad to teach, 16 had no children. Five of these families had one
child and four had two. Only five of the married informants no longer
have children residing with them.

The sections of the country which the informants identified as
their geographical homes were, to a large degree, representative of
the overall population distribution within the U.S. Figure 4 shows
the geographical homes of the informants with United States
citizenship. Two informants were from Vancouver, British Columbia.
Two were from Yorkshire, England. Two other informants were born
respectively in Papua, New Guinea, and Holland.

The 57 informants were contacted in 32 separate interviews, the
majority of which were with teaching pairs. In 11 of those 32
interviews, the informants reported no previous travel or living
experience outside of North America before accepting an overseas
teaching assignment. In the remaining interviews one or both
informants reported living or traveling abroad. The remainder of
informants reported traveling abroad, living abroad with
their parents, working abroad, or studying abroad for a significant
period of time.

Figure 4. Geographical homes of the informants.

The sources which first provided the informants with information about overseas teaching can be divided into three categories. The most commonly cited source involved interaction with an overseas school while working or traveling. In 11 interviews, informants reported that they had first heard about overseas teaching while in the Peace Corps, while doing graduate study abroad, or while on vacation.

In seven interviews, informants said they discovered overseas teaching possibilities from a newspaper, from a magazine, or from notices in a college placement office. In a similar fashion, eight of the individuals or pairs interviewed stated that a professor or a friend, who had previously worked overseas, told them about overseas possibilities and that this prompted them to pursue the opportunity.

The ways in which the remainder of the informants discovered overseas teaching were less easy to categorize. One informant took her first overseas teaching assignment as a church volunteer. Two reported searching a library for ways to obtain overseas teaching positions. One teacher was recruited from a substitute list by an overseas superintendent who was trying to fill a position that demanded a certain combination of teaching skills.

There are explanations for a few of the patterns described in this chapter. Given the two years of experience required for many overseas positions and the fact that most of the informants were part

of a teaching team, who may not have finished their undergraduate training simultaneously, it was not surprising that the informants' average age at the time of overseas employment was a few years beyond the normal college graduation age for students in the U.S. To be nominated for this study these individuals must also have had extensive overseas experience. Since they were still active in overseas teaching, they would have had to start their overseas career at a relatively early age. These individuals, at an early point in their professional lives, would be expected to have small families or no children at all.

Several of the informants reported that they entered teaching as an afterthought. Others perceived overseas teaching as an alternative to other careers that would not provide them with the opportunity to stay overseas. According to Lortie (1975) career decisions such as these are not atypical of the U.S. teaching population.

The geographical distribution of the informants seemed to be unusually concentrated in the metropolitan areas of Boston, New York City, and Los Angeles, and among the rural areas of certain midwestern states, especially Wisconsin (see Figure 4). A possible explanation for these trends lies in the location of the major recruiting centers for overseas teaching employment. Such centers are located in Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts, near Boston; in Princeton, New Jersey, outside New York City; and on the UCLA campus in Los Angeles. Recruiting centers are also located in northern Iowa and in Cleveland, Ohio.

Recruiting fairs sponsored by the center in northern Iowa and the one in Princeton, which previously held its fair in New York City, accounted for a large percentage of the informants' job acquisitions. Proximity to these centers may have resulted in more available information about overseas job opportunities. The patterns found in the geographical backgrounds of the informants may indicate that the recruitment efforts of the overseas schools were unevenly distributed over the country.

Many of those informants from small, rural midwestern towns described how, at the time they went abroad, teaching jobs in those locations were in short supply. Several informants reported that because of decreasing enrollments they had lost teaching jobs due to reductions in force or were facing difficulty in finding acceptable jobs as beginning teachers. Overseas employment became an attractive alternative to these people.

Other patterns in the findings have no apparent explanation. In 65% of the interviews, either the individual informant, or one or both members of a teaching pair, indicated that they had traveled or lived outside North America before going abroad to teach. No data were available on the percentage of the population of the United States who have been abroad at one time or another but the issue of passports from 1972-1984 totaled less than 20% of the U.S. population (United States Department of Commerce, 1985). That figure also

includes passports for travel to Mexico and the Carribean which, because they are not located outside of North America, were not included as overseas travel for this study. It also includes duplicate passports for one individual and before 1980 passports were only valid for 5 years.

If the estimate that less than 20% of the population of the United States have traveled out of North America is anywhere near accurate, it would seem to indicate that the informants were more likely to have had more than typical overseas exposure. A few of the informants stated that overseas travel was a motivation to teach abroad. Many others volunteered that previously travel had greatly influenced their lives.

At the time the informants first went overseas, their locations were relatively evenly distributed around the world. At the time of the interviews they were concentrated in a few schools in Europe and Asia (see Figures 1 and 3).

There was a predominance of teaching pairs found among the successful overseas teachers. Over 77% of those individuals identified as successful were part of a teaching pair, and for 73% of those pairs, both members met the qualifications to be designated as successful.

Patterns in Personal Orientation Among the Informants

The demographic characteristics discussed above are relatively easy to acquire, but provide only limited information with which to

differentiate this population of teachers from any other. Although
they are more difficult to quantify, personal orientations such as
values, need strengths, and other individual preferences, are arguably
more appropriate to the characterization of a population in ways that
are relevant to the determination of job satisfaction. Although each
addresses only a limited number of personality characteristics, two
parts of the present research--the results of the Myers Briggs Type
Indicator (MBTI) and the informants' descriptions regarding both their
motivation for going abroad and their preconceptions about overseas
life--indicate that the successful overseas teachers may hold certain
personality orientations in common.

In the manual and guide for using the MBTI, Myers and McCaulley
(1985) introducesd the instrument as follows:

> The purpose of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) is
> to make the theory of psychological type described by
> Carl Jung understandable and useful in peoples' lives.
> the essence of the theory is that much seemingly random
> variation in behavior is actually quite orderly and
> consistent, being due to basic differences in the way
> individuals prefer to use their perception and judgment.
> (p. 1)

Jung (1921/1971) theorized that all conscious mental activity can
be sorted into four categories. Two are perceiving functions and two
are judgment functions. Although every individual uses all four
functions to some degree, one judgment function and one perceiving
function are preferred.

The MBTI is built around four separate scales: the extraversion-intraversion or EI scale, the sensing-intuition or SN scale, the thinking-feeling or TF scale, and the judgment-perception of JP scale. Each is designed to reflect the degree to which a person favors the use of one mental process over another.

The extraversion-intraversion or EI scale is designed to reflect whether a person is extraverted or introverted as defined by Jung (1921). Extraverted (E) types prefer to focus their judgment and perception on the outside world of people and things. Introverted (I) types are more comfortable focusing on the inside world of ideas and concepts (Myers, 1980).

The sensing-intuition or SN scale reflects differences in the way an individual perceives things. Persons with a sensing (S) orientation rely more on the five senses and are more attuned to the present and to the concrete. Persons with an intuitive (N) orientation rely more on imagination, and are more attuned to abstract connections and future possibilities (Myers, 1980).

The thinking-feeling or TF scale reflects differences in the way an individual makes judgments or reaches conclusions about the world. Persons with a thinking (T) orientation rely on logic and the impersonal consequences that follow their decisions. Persons with a feeling (F) orientation are more inclined to make decisions based upon personal values and the human consequences of those decisions (Myers & McCaulley, 1985).

The judgment-perception of JP scale reflects the individual's preference for using either judgment or perception in dealing with the outer world. Judging types are often characterized as orderly and decisive. Those with perceptive orientations tend to be curious and adapt easily to change (Myers, 1980).

Combining one preference from each of the four scales yields 16 combinations or type profiles which are usually presented as a type table to show the type distribution for a given population. Since its creation, the MBTI has been administered to people in many segments of society. The results have been organized to describe the distribution of types within numerous occupations. When the results of the MBTI for the successful overseas teachers were compared to the type distributions for relevant segments of the U.S. work force, several differences were apparent.

The type distribution for the successful overseas teachers in this study is presented in Table 2. The concentration of intuitive (N) types that appear on the right side of the table, and particularly of the introverted (IN) types that appear in the upper right quadrant are apparent. These concentrations are considerably different than the estimated type distributions for the entire U.S. population and for other groups of teachers.

Because of difficulties in administering the MBTI to a truly random sample of the general U.S. population, the distribution of

Table 2

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distribution for Overseas Teachers

N = 56

	SENSING		INTUITION	
	THINKING	FEELING	FEELING	THINKING
	ISTJ N=4 %=7.14	ISFJ N=0 %=0.00	INFJ N=7 %=12.50	INTJ N=6 %=10.71
	ISTP N=1 %=1.79	ISFP N=1 %=1.79	INFP N=7 %=12.50	INTP N=4 %=7.14
	ESTP N=2 %=3.57	ESFP N=0 %=0.00	ENFP N=5 %=8.93	ENTP N=3 %=5.36
	ESTJ N=6 %=10.71	ESFJ N=1 %=1.79	ENFJ N=4 %=7.14	ENTJ N=5 %=8.93

Side labels: JUDGMENT — PERCEPTION — PERCEPTION — JUDGMENT / INTROVERSION — EXTRAVERSION

	N	%
E	26	46.43
I	30	53.57
S	15	26.79
N	41	73.21
T	31	55.36
F	25	44.64
J	33	58.93
P	23	41.07
I J	17	30.36
I P	13	23.21
E P	10	17.86
E J	16	28.57
S T	13	23.21
S F	2	3.57
N F	23	41.07
N T	18	32.14
S J	11	19.64
S P	4	7.14
N P	19	33.93
N J	22	39.29
T J	21	37.50
T P	10	17.86
F P	13	23.21
F J	12	21.43
I N	24	42.86
E N	17	30.36
I S	6	10.71
E S	9	16.07
E T	16	28.57
E F	10	17.86
I F	15	26.79
I T	15	26.79
S dom	6	10.71
N dom	21	37.50
T dom	16	28.57
F dom	13	23.21

Note: ■ = 1% of sample

horton.srt

types in the general population is considered no better than a good estimate. The best estimate available is represented by the type table for high school students in Pennsylvania shown in Table 3 (J. MacDaid, staff member of the Center for the Applications of Psychological Type, personal communication, January 15, 1986).

Comparing the distribution of intuitives in the overseas population (73%) with the distribution for the general population sample (31%), it is evident that the overseas sample did not reflect the general population with regard to a preference for intuition. By comparing Table 2 and Table 3, one can also see that IN types in the overseas sample are almost four times more prevalent than would be expected in comparison to a sample of the general population.

All the overseas teachers were college graduates. A comparison of the N and IN distributions shown for male and female college graduates (Tables 4 and 5) to the overseas distribution shows that the differences between the IN and N distributions for all graduates and for the overseas teachers were still apparent, but less striking. The frequency of N types among male and female graduates was about two-thirds that found in the overseas distribution. The frequency of IN types among the graduates was about half that of the overseas teachers. The frequency of N types and IN types for the general category of teachers (Table 6) showed a similar ratio.

Table 3

MBTI Type Table Showing Estimated Type Distribution for U.S. Population

N = 9320

	SENSING		INTUITION						N	%
	THINKING	FEELING	FEELING	THINKING						

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ			E	6044	64.85
N= 645	N= 636	N= 167	N= 244			I	3276	35.15
%= 6.92	%= 6.82	%= 1.79	%= 2.62	JUDGMENT		S	6350	68.13
∎∎∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎	∎∎∎			N	2970	31.87
						T	4432	47.55
				INTROVERSION		F	4888	52.45
						J	5091	54.62
						P	4229	45.38

I J 1692 18.15
I P 1584 17.00
E P 2645 28.38
E J 3399 36.47

ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
N= 388	N= 503	N= 363	N= 330
%= 4.16	%= 5.40	%= 3.89	%= 3.54
∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎

PERCEPTION

ST 3036 32.58
S F 3314 35.56
NF 1574 16.89
NT 1396 14.98

S J 3978 42.68
S P 2372 25.45
NP 1857 19.92
N J 1113 11.94

ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
N= 608	N= 873	N= 708	N= 456
%= 6.52	%= 9.37	%= 7.60	%= 4.89
∎∎∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎∎

PERCEPTION

T J 2650 28.43
T P 1782 19.12
F P 2447 26.26
F J 2441 26.19

I N 1104 11.85
EN 1866 20.02
I S 2172 23.30
E S 4178 44.83

ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
N= 1395	N= 1302	N= 336	N= 366
%= 14.97	%= 13.97	%= 3.61	%= 3.93
∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎
∎∎∎∎∎	∎∎∎∎		

EXTRAVERSION   JUDGMENT

ET 2825 30.31
EF 3219 34.54
I F 1669 17.91
I T 1607 17.24

S dom 2762 29.64
N dom 1575 16.90
T dom 2479 26.60
F dom 2504 26.87

Note: ∎ = 1% of sample   8631300

Data collected by Isabel Myers during the spring of 1957 using Forms D0, D1 and primarily D2. Subjects were high school students in 11th and 12th grades in Philadelphia area high schools. Students were 47% female and 53% male; primarily from 27 schools in the suburbs around Philadelphia; and 64% in college preparations curricula. These data are used with permission and are cited in:

Myers, I. B. & McCaulley, M. H. (1985). Manual: A Guide to the Development and Use of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

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Table 4

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distributions for Male
College Graduates

Myers-Briggs Type Indicator

EDUCATION SAMPLES

Type Table

MALE COLLEGE GRADUATES

N 6937

SENSING TYPES		INTUITIVE TYPES				Number	Percent
with THINKING	with FEELING	with FEELING	with THINKING				

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ				
N= 1097	N= 369	N= 233	N= 533	JUDGING	E	3512	50.63
%= 15.81	%= 5.32	%= 3.36	%= 7.68		I	3425	49.37
					S	3571	51.48
					N	3366	48.52
					T	4589	66.15
					F	2348	33.85

INTROVERTS

ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP				
N= 259	N= 145	N= 397	N= 392	PERCEPTIVE	J	4545	65.52
%= 3.73	%= 2.09	%= 5.72	%= 5.65		P	2392	34.48
					I J	2232	32.18
					I P	1193	17.20
					E P	1199	17.28
					E J	2313	33.34

					S T	2593	37.38
					S F	978	14.10
					N F	1370	19.75
					N T	1996	28.77

ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP				
N= 232	N= 131	N= 423	N= 413	PERCEPTIVE	S J	2804	40.42
%= 3.34	%= 1.89	%= 6.10	%= 5.95		S P	767	11.06
					N P	1625	23.43
					N J	1741	25.10

EXTRAVERTS

					T J	3293	47.47
					T P	1296	18.68
					F P	1096	15.80
					F J	1252	18.05

ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ				
N= 1005	N= 333	N= 317	N= 658	JUDGING	I N	1555	22.42
%= 14.49	%= 4.80	%= 4.57	%= 9.49		E N	1811	26.11
					I S	1870	26.96
					E S	1701	24.52

Note: ▨ = 1% of sample

This table is one of a series of tables from the CAPT-MBTI Data Bank of MBTI
records submitted to CAPT for computer scoring between 4/74 and 12/82. The
Data Bank is described at the beginning of this Atlas.

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Table prepared 11/84

Table 5

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distribution for Female
College Graduates

Myers-Briggs Type Indicator   Type Table

EDUCATION SAMPLES
FEMALE COLLEGE GRADUATES

N 8795

	SENSING TYPES		INTUITIVE TYPES				Number	Percent
	with THINKING	with FEELING	with FEELING	with THINKING		E	4557	51.81
						I	4238	48.19
ISTJ	**ISFJ**	**INFJ**	**INTJ**				
N = 871	N = 968	N = 545	N = 458	JUDGING	S	4353	49.49
% = 9.90	% = 11.01	% = 6.20	% = 5.21		N	4442	50.51
					T	3602	40.96
				INTROVERTS	F	5193	59.04
ISTP	**ISFP**	**INFP**	**INTP**		J	5733	65.18
N = 155	N = 298	N = 657	N = 286		P	3062	34.82
% = 1.76	% = 3.39	% = 7.47	% = 3.25	PERCEPTIVE	I J	2842	32.31
					I P	1396	15.87
					E P	1666	18.94
					E J	2891	32.87
					ST	1939	22.05
					SF	2414	27.45
					NF	2779	31.60
ESTP	**ESFP**	**ENFP**	**ENTP**		NT	1663	18.91
N = 145	N = 293	N = 864	N = 364	PERCEPTIVE	SJ	3462	39.36
% = 1.65	% = 3.33	% = 9.82	% = 4.14		SP	891	10.13
					NP	2171	24.68
				EXTRAVERTS	NJ	2271	25.82
					TJ	2652	30.15
ESTJ	**ESFJ**	**ENFJ**	**ENTJ**		TP	950	10.80
N = 768	N = 855	N = 713	N = 555		FP	2112	24.01
% = 8.73	% = 9.72	% = 8.11	% = 6.31	JUDGING	FJ	3081	35.03
					I N	1946	22.13
					E N	2496	28.38
					I S	2292	26.06
					E S	2061	23.43

Note: ▩ = 1% of sample

This table is one of a series of tables from the CAPT-MBTI Data Bank of MBTI
records submitted to CAPT for computer scoring between 4/74 and 12/82. The
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The type distributions for teachers in the U.S. vary by assignment. The frequency of N and IN types among elementary teachers is estimated at 37% and 13% respectively (Table 7). Among middle school teachers who have taken the MBTI, and N and IN distributions are 45% and 17% (Table 8). Among high school teachers in a nationwide sample the distribution of N and S types was virtually equal and the frequency of IN types rose to more than 22% (Table 9). Among university teachers the frequency of N (64%) and IN (32%) types begins to approach that of the successful overseas teacher sample (Table 10).

Because of the nature of overseas teaching, it is difficult to distinguish among elementary, middle, and high school assignments. Teachers in this study reported that they often moved from one level to another, or had multiple assignments throughout a small school. However, 18 of the informants reported a primarily elementary teaching background and most of the remainder reported working with students from grades 7 through 12. The type distribution for the overseas teachers did not vary with regard to teaching assignment, where the distribution for the U.S. teachers did.

Of the type distributions for teachers mentioned thus far, those for university teachers came closest to the overseas population in their intuitive orientation (64% to 73%). This was also true with regard to IN orientation (32% to 43%), although the IN orientation for university teachers was still not as prevalent as that of the informants.

Table 6

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distribution for Teachers

TEACHERS

N = 16678

	SENSING		INTUITION		
	THINKING	FEELING	FEELING	THINKING	
	ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ	
	N= 1877	N= 1851	N= 1023	N= 871	
	%= 11.25	%= 11.10	%= 6.13	%= 5.22	
	ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP	
	N= 336	N= 549	N= 1189	N= 558	
	%= 2.01	%= 3.29	%= 7.13	%= 3.35	
	ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP	
	N= 255	N= 567	N= 1669	N= 607	
	%= 1.53	%= 3.40	%= 10.01	%= 3.64	
	ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ	
	N= 1502	N= 1543	N= 1283	N= 998	
	%= 9.01	%= 9.25	%= 7.69	%= 5.98	

	N	%
E	8424	50.51
I	8254	49.49
S	8480	50.85
N	8198	49.15
T	7004	42.00
F	9674	58.00
J	10948	65.64
P	5730	34.36
I J	5622	33.71
I P	2632	15.78
E P	3098	18.58
E J	5326	31.93
ST	3970	23.80
SF	4510	27.04
NF	5164	30.96
NT	3034	18.19
S J	6773	40.61
S P	1707	10.24
NP	4023	24.12
NJ	4175	25.03
TJ	5248	31.47
TP	1756	10.53
FP	3974	23.83
F J	5700	34.18
IN	3641	21.83
EN	4557	27.32
I S	4613	27.66
ES	3867	23.19
ET	3362	20.16
EF	5062	30.35
I F	4612	27.65
I T	3642	21.84
S dom	4550	27.28
N dom	4170	25.00
T dom	3394	20.35
F dom	4564	27.37

Note: ■ = 1% of sample   8629430

This table is one of a series of tables from the CAPT-MBTI Data Bank of MBTI records submitted to CAPT for computer scoring between 1971 and December 1982. This sample was drawn from 61,388 records with usable occupational codes from the total databank of 235,536. This databank has 50% Form F cases from 1971 to 1978, 35% Form F cases from 1978 to 1983 and Form G cases from 1978 to 1982. The current Form F and G databanks were comprised of 56% females and 44% males; education level completed: 6% some grade school, 30% high school diploma, 25% some college, 18% bachelor degrees, 11% masters degrees, 3% doctoral or post doctoral work, and 6% unknown. Age group percentages were: 11% under 18, 29% 18 to 20, 17% 21 to 24, 10% 25 to 29, 16% 30 to 39, 10% 40 to 49, 5% 50 to 59, 2% 60 plus, and 5% unknown.

Table 7

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distribution for Elementary School Teachers

Teachers: Elementary school

N = 804

	SENSING		INTUITION					
	THINKING	FEELING	FEELING	THINKING			N	%
	ISTJ N= 86 %= 10.70	**ISFJ** N= 144 %= 17.91	**INFJ** N= 41 %= 5.10	**INTJ** N= 17 %= 2.11	JUDGING	INTROVERSION	E 415	51.62
							I 389	48.38
							S 503	62.56
							N 301	37.44
	ISTP N= 14 %= 1.74	**ISFP** N= 38 %= 4.73	**INFP** N= 37 %= 4.60	**INTP** N= 12 %= 1.49		PERCEPTION	T 258	32.09
							F 546	67.91
							J 556	69.15
							P 248	30.85
	ESTP N= 7 %= .87	**ESFP** N= 46 %= 5.72	**ENFP** N= 82 %= 10.20	**ENTP** N= 12 %= 1.49	PERCEPTION	EXTRAVERSION	I J 288	35.82
							I P 101	12.56
							E P 147	18.28
							E J 268	33.33
	ESTJ N= 68 %= 8.46	**ESFJ** N= 100 %= 12.44	**ENFJ** N= 58 %= 7.21	**ENTJ** N= 42 %= 5.22	JUDGING		ST 175	21.77
							SF 328	40.80
							NF 218	27.11
							NT 83	10.32

	N	%
S J	398	49.50
S P	105	13.06
N P	143	17.79
N J	158	19.65
T J	213	26.49
T P	45	5.60
F P	203	25.25
F J	343	42.66
I N	107	13.31
E N	194	24.13
I S	282	35.07
E S	221	27.49
E T	129	16.04
E F	286	35.57
I F	260	32.34
I T	129	16.04
S dom	283	35.20
N dom	152	18.91
T dom	136	16.92
F dom	233	28.98

Note: ■ = 1% of sample   8629419

This table is one of a series of tables from the CAPT-MBTI Data Bank of MBTI records submitted to CAPT for computer scoring between 1971 and December 1982. This sample was drawn from 61,388 records with usable occupational codes from the total databank of 235,536. This databank has 50% Form F cases from 1971 to 1978, 35% Form F cases from 1978 to 1983 and Form G cases from 1978 to 1982. The current Form F and G databanks were comprised of 56% females and 44% males, education level completed: 6% some grade school, 30% high school diploma, 25% some college, 18% bachelor degrees, 11% masters degrees, 3% doctoral or post doctoral work, and 6% unknown. Age group percentages were: 11% under 18, 29% 18 to 20, 12% 21 to 24, 10% 25 to 29, 16% 30 to 39, 10% 40 to 49, 5% 50 to 59, 2% 60 plus, and 5% unknown.

Table 8

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distribution for Middle and
Junior High School Teachers

Teachers: Middle and junior high school

N = 1128

SENSING		INTUITION	
THINKING	FEELING	FEELING	THINKING
ISTJ N= 126 %= 11.17	**ISFJ** N= 138 %= 12.23	**INFJ** N= 56 %= 4.96	**INTJ** N= 51 %= 4.52
ISTP N= 26 %= 2.30	**ISFP** N= 36 %= 3.19	**INFP** N= 67 %= 5.94	**INTP** N= 27 %= 2.39
ESTP N= 20 %= 1.77	**ESFP** N= 43 %= 3.81	**ENFP** N= 124 %= 10.99	**ENTP** N= 44 %= 3.90
ESTJ N= 103 %= 9.13	**ESFJ** N= 130 %= 11.52	**ENFJ** N= 88 %= 7.80	**ENTJ** N= 49 %= 4.34

	N	%
E	601	53.28
I	527	46.72
S	622	55.14
N	506	44.86
T	446	39.54
F	682	60.46
J	741	65.69
P	387	34.31
I J	371	32.89
I P	156	13.83
E P	231	20.48
E J	370	32.80
S T	275	24.38
S F	347	30.76
N F	335	29.70
N T	171	15.16
S J	497	44.06
S P	125	11.08
N P	262	23.23
N J	244	21.63
T J	329	29.17
T P	117	10.37
F P	270	23.94
F J	412	36.52
I N	201	17.82
E N	305	27.04
I S	326	28.90
E S	296	26.24
E T	216	19.15
E F	385	34.13
I F	297	26.33
I T	230	20.39
S dom	327	28.99
N dom	275	24.38
T dom	205	18.17
F dom	321	28.46

Note: ■ = 1% of sample   8629422

Table 9

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distribution for High School Teachers

Teachers: High school

N = 649

					N	%
SENSING		**INTUITION**			E	332	51.16

Type table with the following cells:

ISTJ N= 77, %= 11.86
ISFJ N= 69, %= 10.63
INFJ N= 50, %= 7.70
INTJ N= 35, %= 5.39

ISTP N= 10, %= 1.54
ISFP N= 16, %= 2.47
INFP N= 41, %= 6.32
INTP N= 19, %= 2.93

ESTP N= 7, %= 1.08
ESFP N= 15, %= 2.31
ENFP N= 74, %= 11.40
ENTP N= 23, %= 3.54

ESTJ N= 73, %= 11.25
ESFJ N= 55, %= 8.47
ENFJ N= 57, %= 8.78
ENTJ N= 28, %= 4.31

	N	%
E	332	51.16
I	317	48.84
S	322	49.61
N	327	50.39
T	272	41.91
F	377	58.09
J	444	68.41
P	205	31.59
I J	231	35.59
I P	86	13.25
E P	119	18.34
E J	213	32.82
S T	167	25.73
S F	155	23.88
N F	222	34.21
N T	105	16.18
S J	274	42.22
S P	48	7.40
N P	157	24.19
N J	170	26.19
T J	213	32.82
T P	59	9.09
F P	146	22.50
F J	231	35.59
I N	145	22.34
E N	182	28.04
I S	172	26.50
E S	150	23.11
E T	131	20.18
E F	201	30.97
I F	176	27.12
I T	141	21.73
S dom	168	25.89
N dom	182	28.04
T dom	130	20.03
F dom	169	26.04

Note: ■ = 1% of sample   8629420

Table 10

MBTI Type Table Showing Type Distribution for University Teachers

Teachers: University

N = 2282

	SENSING		INTUITION	
	THINKING	FEELING	FEELING	THINKING

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
N= 293	N= 139	N= 172	N= 248
%= 12.84	%= 6.09	%= 7.54	%= 10.87
▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪ ▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪ ▪

ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
N= 38	N= 39	N= 185	N= 123
%= 1.67	%= 1.71	%= 8.11	%= 5.39
▪▪	▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪

ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
N= 27	N= 38	N= 207	N= 121
%= 1.18	%= 1.67	%= 9.07	%= 5.30
▪	▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪

ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
N= 148	N= 101	N= 183	N= 220
%= 6.49	%= 4.43	%= 8.02	%= 9.64
▪▪▪▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪	▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪

JUDGMENT — PERCEPTION — PERCEPTION — JUDGMENT
INTROVERSION — EXTRAVERSION

Note: ▪ = 1% of sample   8629424

	N	%
E	1045	45.79
I	1237	54.21
S	823	36.06
N	1459	63.94
T	1218	53.37
F	1064	46.63
J	1504	65.91
P	778	34.09
I J	852	37.34
I P	385	16.87
E P	393	17.22
E J	652	28.57
S T	506	22.17
S F	317	13.89
N F	747	32.73
N T	712	31.20
S J	681	29.84
S P	142	6.22
N P	636	27.87
N J	823	36.06
T J	909	39.83
T P	309	13.54
F P	469	20.55
F J	595	26.07
I N	728	31.90
E N	731	32.03
I S	509	22.30
E S	314	13.76
E T	516	22.61
E F	529	23.18
I F	535	23.44
I T	702	30.76
S dom	497	21.78
N dom	748	32.78
T dom	529	23.18
F dom	508	22.26

The above data are of little interest without information about the application of personality type. If the degree of intuitive preference and introverted intuitive preference for the overseas group is indeed atypical in relation to other relevant populations, what might this indicate?

In Gifts Differing, Isabel Myers (1980) compared intuitive preferences to a ski jump: "a soaring take off from the known and established, ending in a swooping arrival at an advanced point, with the intervening steps apparently left out" (p. 58). She concluded that intuitives dislike routine because it leaves them nothing to accomplish.

Myers (1980) described intuitives in several ways that seem consistent with a decision to live in a new environment. "They face life expectantly, craving exploration. . . . They are by nature initiators and promoters, having no taste for life as it is. . . . They are generally restless" (p. 63).

The IN types, which together comprised 43% of the sample in the study, were characterized by Myers (1980) as "regarding the immediate situation as a prison from which escape is urgently necessary." Myers went on to say that IN types are occupied by "searching out new angles for viewing and understanding life" (p. 81). According to Myers, the EN types, which as the second largest quadrant included 30% of the overseas sample, share the IN's dislike for the routine of the

present. Myers (1980) suggested that EN types will always be interested in new possibilities and will be willing to sacrifice a great deal to pursue those possibilities (p. 81).

Further evidence of the influence of type of occupational decisions was provided by the frequency charts of occupation according to type, which are presented in the MBTI manual (Myers & McCaulley, 1985). Certain occupations have been found to be more attractive than others depending on one's type. The frequency of intuitives found in the overseas teaching sample (73%) was as high as that found in all but a few of the almost 150 occupations which have been reviewed in the type manual. Other occupations which seem to be similarly attractive to intuitive types are journalism and photography, in which 73% of the practitioners are intuitives, and teaching (in art, music, or drama only), for which 71% of the practitioners are intuitive. At the low end of the occupational popularity scale for intuitives are such jobs as steelwork (14%), police work (15%), and farming (23%) (pp. 246-248). In reference to type theory, intuitives are more likely to seek out jobs which offer a chance to create and discover alternative ways to do things and be less interested in activities that deemphasize the abstract and require a high degree of routine.

There are four IN cells on the type table: INFJ, INFP, INTJ, and INTP. The MBTI manual (Myers & McCaulley, 1985) listed educational consulting, the priesthood, and teaching (English as well as art,

music, and dance) as occupations which are most attractive to INFJ types (p. 276). It listed writing, journalism, social science, and psychology as attractive to INFP types (p. 279). More INTJ types seem to gravitate toward careers in university teaching, photography, law and science than to other occupations (p. 286). INTP types have been found to be attracted to science, social science, law, and computer specialties (p. 284). Taken as a group, the jobs to which IN oriented individuals seem to gravitate are those that offer some degree of autonomy, a certain degree of abstract thinking, and a variety of activities.

The IN types seem to avoid certain jobs as well. Low in frequency for one or more of the IN types are clerical positions, cashiers, teachers' aides, dental hygienists, police work, site supervisors, surveyors, farmers, and technicians (pp. 276-286). Most of these jobs might be characterized by a relatively high degree of routine, limited chance for initiative or creativity, and low degrees of autonomy.

MBTI type has been correlated with several other instruments which attempt to measure personality variables, and the results shed further light on the nature of individuals who display N and IN orientations. The MBTI manual (Myers & McCaulley, 1985) reports a significant correlation between intuitive type and a need for

achievement through independence, as measured on the California
Personality Inventory (p. 177). A reported correlation between
intuition and a tendency to artistic as opposed to practical behavior
on the Personality Research Inventory (p. 182) would seem to support
the contention that intuitives thrive on change and exposure to new
ideas. A significant correlation between IN-P types and both
self-sufficiency and independence, as reported on The 16 Factor
Questionnaire (p. 186), identifies two other qualities seemingly
consistent with a successful adaptation to overseas life. A sense of
adventure, which correlates significantly with NP types on the
Strong-Campbell Interest Survey, would also seem consistent with
interests in overseas employment.

Motivations for Going Abroad and Preconceptions

As part of each interview, informants were asked to describe the
circumstances that led to their first overseas job. In the course of
these descriptions, many comments were made regarding the motivation
the informant had for seeking overseas employment and the
preconceptions that informants had about overseas life.

Most of the informants provided multiple reasons for seeking
overseas teaching positions. The most frequently cited of these
reasons, and one expressed in virtually every interview, was the
belief that overseas teaching would offer something new and
potentially exciting.

Several words—excitement, change, exotic, new, and adventure—were prevalent in these descriptions. A teacher from Los Angeles describing her departure for Norway said, "I knew it would be exciting. I was scared, but ready to try it." A couple from California took jobs in Samoa because they thought it would be different from the U.S. and they "were ready for a change." Another typical response, in this case from a teaching pair from the midwest, was worded as follows:

> We went for the adventure of it. We had little teaching experience and therefore few job opportunities [in the U.S.]. When we accepted the job in La Paz [Bolivia] we knew only a little about it from the slides of the superintendent who interviewed us, but we knew it was going to be exotic, and it was.

This last response addresses two other attitudes that were commonly expressed by the informants in addition to their desires for adventure and change. Many went abroad because the job opportunities were equal to or better than what they faced at home. Most were also relatively or even extremely naive or unconcerned about what they could expect in their new environment.

In regard to overseas employment as an alternative job opportunity, several teachers from the northeast and midwest reported that they had been let go due to reduction in force because they had little seniority. Overseas employment was therefore all the more attractive.

For those informants who had had positive experiences overseas as Peace Corps volunteers, as students, or as employees of a company doing international business, teaching provided a way to stay overseas and avoid what they considered to be less desirable working and living conditions at home. One of the Peace Corps volunteers, an advertising major from New York City, illustrated this position in saying, "the Peace Corps opened up a whole new world for me. After that I could not imagine myself in a nine to five job in the city." A woman with overseas experience as a technical writer gave up the security of that position because she was being relocated in the U.S. She then took up teaching because she felt that was the best avenue through which she could return abroad.

The alternative for another group involved leaving what they considered to be unsatisfactory situations in U.S. public schools without getting out of education altogether. The reasons given for the dissatisfaction with U.S. teaching varied. One couple was ready to quit because they could not make enough money in teaching to buy the house they wanted. Several informants reported that uncaring parents and unmotivated students in their schools were the primary reasons for getting out. A teacher from New York City said that being injured while trying to stop a knife fight between two students was the final straw for her.

For those who decided to leave the U.S., the decision was often an impetuous one. A couple from Indiana related how in the midst of

moving furniture into a newly purchased house they received an offer
to teach in Africa. The next day they again moved the furniture into
storage, and they left the U.S. a few weeks later. A teacher from
Maryland described a similar experience.

> I was very unhappy with my public school experience. We
> had written to [an overseas school] but were told that
> there were no jobs for that year. We owned a house and
> two cars, and both had jobs. When an offer came we sold
> the house and cars and left in two months.

One informant had gone for student teaching in Europe. His wife
who was then working in Boston joined him for the last month and "got
the wanderlust."

> I went back to General Telephone, but was dissatisfied with
> pushing paper, even though the money was better than for
> teaching. We got a call from [a recruiter] asking if we
> would like to interview for a position in Damascus. My
> husband went for the interview as a lark. When we were
> offered the job, we were given little time to think about
> it; the superintendent wanted an answer. We gave a
> qualified yes, but once you say yes your thoughts are
> positive, and a month later we were on a plane. If we
> had had time to think about it we probably would not have
> gone. We went and expected the worst. If the
> superintendent had put us in a tent, we would have
> accepted it.

The naivete expressed here about life in a tent is not atypical
of what other informants reported. Throughout the interviews
informants referred to images of mud huts, grass huts, no electricity,
no running water, and a variety of other less-than-inviting
possibilities for accommodations. Most informants said that they just
didn't know what to expect.

Some teachers were more thoughtful about their decision, but no less naive. One commented on his hiring in Athens.

> I thought it would be a lot more primitive. I had images of the Parthenon and Acropolis everywhere. We were excited, but it was a difficult decision for us. Neither of us had even been abroad before. We were really frightened by it. At one point we had decided to turn the offer down, but we were influenced by the adventure of it and the positive contacts we had had [in the interview]. We finally decided that we were saturated with Toledo, Ohio, and could not grow any more here, so we decided to go for it.

The reference made earlier to life in a tent not only expresses the naivete many of the informants shared in regard to their first overseas assignment, but a typical willingness to accept and adapt to whatever they encountered. A couple from Wisconsin said of a job offer in Pakistan, "we didn't have a clue what to expect, and really didn't care." A couple on their way to Bolivia said that, "living conditions were not a factor, we really didn't care." Another couple, commenting on their decision to go to Pakistan, said that they had decided to take whatever came along; they were just anxious to go abroad.

The expressed motivations of the informants for going abroad and their expectations and preconceptions of overseas life expand the profile of the typical overseas teacher in this sample. The data indicate that, at least at the time they were first hired to go abroad, the informants typically expressed a need for change. Whether this need was the result of dissatisfaction with their situation at

the time, was due to curiosity, or was due to both, these teachers
characteristically perceived an overseas teaching assignment as one
way to fulfill that need.

In addition, the informants expressed a high degree of naivete in
regard to the realities of overseas teaching. Even for those who had
given considerable thought to their decision, the reality of the
overseas environment was seldom as expected.

None of the informants expressed more than minimal concern about
this lack of information. The few who even addressed this issue
typically stated that even if they had misgivings about their
decision, they were confident they could accept whatever they found.
A few of the informants went beyond this position, indicating that if
the situation were not acceptable to them, they would make it so.

In reviewing the demographics and attitudes of the informants
reported in this chapter, characteristics were identified which can be
used to differentiate these teachers from others. The majority of the
informants were married to other successful teachers. About
two-thirds of the families represented in this study had traveled
abroad before going overseas to teach. At the time this study was
conducted, two-thirds of the informants were concentrated in six
overseas schools.

With regard to attitudinal qualities, the informants were
predominantly intuitive types as measured on the MBTI. They gave a

variety of reasons for why they chose to go overseas and many of these reasons were consistent with intuitive preferences. The most prevalent reason given was that overseas teaching was perceived to offer something new and exciting. Other reasons which contributed to this decision were dissatisfaction with U.S. education, wishes to return to or remain overseas, and the travel opportunities which overseas teaching would make available. Many of the informants reported that their decisions to teach abroad were made quickly, with little thought as to what they might encounter. They generally characterized themselves as naive in their perceptions of the environments to which they were moving. Starting from these perceptions, the reality of living as a teacher in an American/International school community is the focus of Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI
THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT OF THE SUCCESSFUL
OVERSEAS TEACHER

The second research question for this study addressed the
environmental conditions in American/International school communities
which may have influenced the informants' attitudes toward their work.
Following some introductory comments, an overview of life in these
communities from the informants' perspective are presented. The
organization of this overview corresponds to the topics to which the
informants gave primary attention in their descriptions: the
adjustment to overseas life, family life in the communities, social
interaction outside the family, and the quality of interpersonal
relations. Concluding the chapter is a discussion of the aspects of
overseas life that these teachers perceived to be a disadvantage or
advantage, in comparison to life as a teacher in their home country.

Before describing the living situation of the successful overseas
teacher, two crucial qualifications need to be identified. First, as
realized by Hoppock (1935) in his seminal work on job satisfaction,
the living and working situations of any individual are often
difficult to separate. This is probably even more true in an overseas
environment where individuals have been temporarily placed in a
foreign, and often restricted, environment for the express purpose of

teaching. Social contacts and personal identity become closely related to the work situation and, depending on the scope of services provided by the employer, the influences of work may enter areas of domestic existence to a much greater degree than in a U.S. setting.

Second, although there are many commonalities within the environments of the various American/International schools, the comments of the informants in this study suggest dissimilarities as well. Living situations were influenced by the location of the school. Because some schools were remote, location affected the overseas teachers' access to the amenities which influenced the nature and quality of life. Location also determined the cultural environment in which the teachers lived.

Another prominent variable identified by informants in both the living and working situation was the nature and size of the expatriate presence in the community. The nature of the clientele, students and parents, seemed to greatly affect the overseas teacher's social life. The degree of local and international representation in the school community did the same. A small expatriate community often resulted in increased interaction among the different nationalities. A totally U.S. clientele often restricted this kind of interaction.

Informants identified the role the school played in the community as another important variable. If the school doubled as a social and recreational center, the nature of life outside of work was affected

considerably. At the other extreme, informants described schools in
which the facilities were used exclusively for classroom purposes on a
weekday basis only. In these situations, teachers were less likely to
interact with clients socially.

The range of these variables might lead one to conclude that
overseas teaching is not one work culture, but a variety of them.
This conclusion seems tenuous for three reasons. First, although the
variations in environment may be pronounced overseas, there are also
significant variations among the work and living environments of
teachers within the different states and cities of the United States.
Even with these variations, teaching in the U.S. is identified as a
distinct occupation without undue attention being given to those
differences. Second, many aspects of the overseas teachers' situation
that are common throughout the world are identified in the following
discussion.

Third, each of the perceptions made in regard to the various
overseas environments, came from a teacher who has worked in at least
two, and often three or four, overseas schools. The comparisons among
schools were therefore often made within the orientation and value
system of one informant. This created a degree of built-in control
for perhaps the most confounding of all variables which influence
perceptions of satisfaction: differences in personalities, attitudes,
and values. A population of teachers who would each be able to give

personal, comparative perceptions about such a variety of school environments within their own experience would be difficult to identify within the United States. The commonalities among the informants' perceptions about the work or living environment would, therefore, seem to take on added significance.

Adjusting to Overseas Life

The first set of commonalities identified by the informants concerned their initial exposure to overseas life. Most of the informants described the first year in any new post as a period of adjustment. If the move were made directly from the U.S., or if it were into a cultural environment which was significantly different from the previous one, the adjustment period was understandably lengthened.

The initial impressions related by many of the informants in relation to their new environment reflected the naivete described earlier, and also suggested that the reality of the new environment was generally an improvement over what they had expected to find. The following quotations are typical and serve to illustrate several points.

> What you see in Geography books is so totally different. I didn't expect the Salvadorian housing to be so modern.

> I had never traveled outside the U.S. before going to Pakistan, and the reality of the place exceeded my expectations. I hadn't expected much and was really surprised . . . the number and variety of things on the road: bullock carts pulling cement mixers,

bicycles carrying 50 cans of oil. I don't know if I
enjoyed the first few weeks, but they were a real eye
opener. The first night was my first exposure to
having my own cook and night watchman. The housing
was nice compared to what I had been used to in the
U.S. Suddenly I had a home and people looking after me.

I arrived in La Paz at the airport on the Altiplano,
above the city. All I saw at first were adobe huts and
I though 'uh-oh'. Then we turned a corner and I could
see the city below with snow capped mountains behind it.
The living situation was nice. We had a small house and
a maid. Life was easy. You could devote time to your
social life and your work.

We stayed with an embassy couple the first night in
Damascus because our house was not ready. I had a few
misgivings that night, but the next morning the host
served us bacon, eggs, and Minute Maid orange juice.
From then on I was OK.

I expected Addis [Ababa, Ethiopia] to be pretty much like
teaching in Long Beach, but I expected to be able to travel
and that the living conditions would be primitive. Things
were not at all what I expected. The first few weeks were
rough. I was almost ready to give up and go home. We
were sick; we couldn't speak the language. After a short
time, though, things worked out and it became exciting.

Several themes recur throughout these passages, and are typical

of the other interviews as well. On arrival the new teacher was

somewhat overcome by the differences and newness. A short period of

insecurity was followed by the realization that living conditions were

generally better than what had been left behind. Within a short time

insecurity gave way to a number of pleasurable experiences which

outweighed the hardships.

Initial Living Adjustments

The informants identified several classes of adjustments which

needed to be made upon arrival in a new location. Some were described

as positive experiences, some as negative, and some both ways.
Securing housing was commonly identified as an experience which could
be negative or positive.

Informants indicated that, depending on the location of the
school, housing was acquired in one of several ways. For many
schools, particularly those in more remote areas, the school furnished
housing for the teachers, often leasing the premises and having them
ready to move into by the time the teacher arrived. This situation
was commonly reported for schools in South and Southeast Asia, in the
Near East, in Eastern Europe, and for two of the four schools in
sub-Saharan Africa which were described in this study. In all these
locations the cultural environments differed significantly from those
in the U.S. Informants indicated that without the help of the school
securing adequate housing would have been difficult.

With few exceptions, informants reported that in the more western
and or cosmopolitan environments, teachers were generally left to
their own devices to find housing. In some schools a housing
allowance was added to the teachers' salaries to allow them to find
adequate housing in what were often high-priced housing markets. In
other locations, especially those in western Europe in which the
amenities were most similar to the U.S., informants generally reported
that the schools did little or nothing to assist in this area.

Informants reported degrees of satisfaction and dissatisfaction
with each of these arrangements. Typical of the responses was that of

a teaching pair who were comparing two different situations. In one case furnished housing was provided the moment the teachers got off the plane. This was satisfying because it decreased the anxieties concerned with adjustment and allowed the couple to concentrate their attentions on their jobs. As a dissatisfier, they stated that later they felt the school was almost taking too good care of them, infringing upon their sense of independence. In the second situation, the couple reported that the opportunity to adapt their housing quality and location to their personal tastes was a positive; but the extra time and effort involved were negative trade-offs. The logistics of finding decent housing in the second location were also less of a burden than they would have been in the first.

Adjusting to Limited Amenities

A second class of adjustments concerned the access informants had to amenities upon arrival. In most cases the teachers reported that this was not a serious problem. In western European posts, and in some parts of Asia as well, the availability of goods and services was reported to be virtually equivalent to the U.S. In more remote areas, informants reported that they often had access to commissaries and/or imported health services, which minimized the deficiencies of the local environment. However, a very few of the informants described significant difficulties in adjusting to life on a third world economy without outside help. One stated,

in Honduras we were thrown into the community, no support,
no housing. There was less support than in other places
we have been. The language barrier was another problem.
When we went to Zambia we [also] had a tough time,
especially at first. We ate scrambled eggs for three
weeks because we did not yet know where to go for flour
or safe meat. We had to wait for butter to be shipped
in from Zimbabwe.

The following passage illustrates a similar situation.

When we went to Nicaragua we got a house that had been
nice once, but had gone to pot. It had a big back yard
and a nice garden where we kept our own chickens for
eggs. Food was scarce and you had to be a scrounger.
If you did not have a contact you could not get meat,
flour, or sugar. To go to the grocery store—a term I
use loosely—you needed a suitcase full of money.

Surprisingly, even in the adjustments such as the two described

here, informants found positive trade-offs in difficult situations.

The teachers who were in Zambia completed their description of their

introduction to the country by saying

What began as a terrible situation we look back on as
positive, because we made it. We were proud of ourselves
because we learned how to make mayonnaise and ketchup.
It was back to the basics, with everyone sharing, and we
made close friends. I think we had such close relationships
with people because we were forced to rely on each other.
You don't need people here [in the U.S.], but in that
situation you really did.

Cultural Adjustments

A third type of adjustment often described by the informants

might be labeled as an adjustment to cultural differences. Within

this category can be included descriptions of encounters with values

and personal habits which were either new or in opposition to those

the teachers held themselves.

The most prevalent comments about value differences concerned adjustment to perceived aspects of the Muslim religion. In 24 of the 32 interviews, informants reported working, at one time or another, in countries where Islam was a major influence on the culture. That influence created adaptation problems for informants primarily because of its perceived attitude toward women and to a lesser degree because of its perceived austerity.

The reactions of one woman, new to Pakistan, are typical.

On arrival I was overcome by the Muslim culture. I found myself turning my eyes down to the street when I walked. I resented having to put on long pants to jog in 100 degree heat. I resented the fact that people were not returning my smiles and hellos. The first year I fought it, [thinking] they're wrong, and why can't they be more like Americans. [Later] I remember saying to myself that you're going to be here for at least another year, so make the best of it. After that I was fine.

Although many informants described unpleasant reactions tot he attitude toward women in Islamic countries, and to a lesser degree in certain Latin American ones, they generally perceived this situation as an adjustment problem with which they could cope. A lady in Saudi Arabia qualified her description of personal discomfort by saying that it was not too bad if you appreciated the culture. A teacher who had worked in both Pakistan and Syria said, "I don't like being leered at; nobody does. But I don't take it personally."

In addition to difficulties adjusting to religious values, informants also reported that they needed to adjust to different

values in regard to honesty, time, and personal space. A comment that "cheating among students was almost a national sport" was similar to many made in regard to Latin American experiences and one in southern Europe. In the European situation, the teacher reported that when a student was apprehended stealing a test the administration reversed the teacher's decision to fail the student, because academic dishonesty was considered less serious in the host society than would have been the case in the U.S.

Informants often described initial annoyances with things not being done when they were promised or annoyances with the lack of punctuality found in the host culture. They found it difficult to surrender their inbred belief that deadlines and schedules were of great importance.

An unaccustomed proximity between individuals, common in many non-western cultures was described as disconcerting by several informants. A teacher in Greece told how, during conversations with locals, she had to force herself to remain closer to people than she was accustomed. She also described how people in the Greek community could not understand why she and her family would need or want a house with as much free space as the one they had.

As with the adjustment to religious values, informants generally stated that what were initially annoyances in regard to differences, were later looked upon as interesting experiences. Some informants

pointed out that, in regard to cultural adjustment, expatriates were often able to enjoy the best of both cultural worlds. One teaching pair who, at the time of the interview were in their 10th year at the second school in Europe in which they had taught, seemed to describe this concept particularly well.

> We are still foreigners, so the locals are much more tolerant of the social mistakes we make than they would be of locals. It's like having the best of both cultures. We are outsiders looking in, so we can avoid what we don't like. However, there are few restrictions on what we can do, because we live here.

Adjustments to Change

The effects of frequent moving and change were a fourth class of adjustment often mentioned by the informants. The following comment covers several of the commonly expressed sentiments.

> It's hard to uproot every few years. Traveling with suitcases and living out of suitcases for a few months after you arrive in a new place is [difficult]. It takes months to settle in and it's especially hard on the children to make change, because they have to leave their friends and make new ones.

The adverse effects moving had on the family, especially on the children were mentioned often, but there seemed to be trade-offs here also. Many informants described how the experience of moving into a new environment brought the family closer together. The general theme, expressed in several ways, was that, because everyone in the family was facing similar hardships, they grew to depend more upon each other. One couple said,

> We share a lot as a family, and overseas we are forced
> to share even more. There is no one else to turn to,
> especially when you are new in the community. You need
> to help each other during this adjustment period, and it
> pulls you closer together.

Another trade-off described by several informants was the increased sense of empathy and tolerance children developed for others who shared their own experiences of being a newcomer. "Kids in these schools have more sympathy for change. They know what it is to be new, and quickly help others adjust. It's true for teachers too."

The final adjustment to change described by the informants might be labeled as "making a home." This can be differentiated from the discussion of housing, because it refers to an attitudinal, not a physical adaptation.

When asked what advice they would give to teachers new to overseas teaching, many informants stressed the importance of setting down roots rather than remaining a transient. They generally felt that to become really happy with a place it had to be looked upon as more than a temporary stopping place. One teacher, who had worked in three schools in Asia, suggested that teachers should "bring the things necessary to make the house your home. Otherwise when you return from school each day it will be like going to a hotel."

Informants described several ways they made an overseas post home. Pictures, household decorations, and other furnishings brought from previous locations helped to personalize the environment. The

establishment of routines for the family and of regular schedules were described as another stabilizing factor. Above all, informants suggested that the newly arrived teachers not make any hasty judgments about their new environment. A common piece of advice was "give it time."

Overwhelmingly the informants seemed to agree that adaptation to any new environment takes time. When the new environment is substantially different from the previous one, sufficient opportunity must be provided for the individual to place the differences in a frame of reference which will allow him or her to function socially and professionally. The overseas teachers interviewed for this study emphasized the importance of suspending judgment, and based on their comments, they seem to be good role models for what they preach. Perhaps this is one of the qualities contributing to their success.

Personal Use of Time Outside Work

Informant's reported that, following the period of adjustment, their life in the overseas community within which they worked generally approached a semblance of routine. Their comments about this routine generally centered on several themes, one of which was their life as a family. Descriptions of the activities in which the informants engaged as a family outside their work might be categorized under four headings: the quality of family life, recreation, cultural exposure, and travel. For the few informants who were overseas as

singles or had new children, many of the descriptions of family life
were also valid in regard to how their time was used. In each of
these three areas, the nature of the activities was described as being
influenced to some degree by the overseas environment.

The Quality of Family Life

In addition to describing how moving and adjustment brought
families together, many informants reported that the living and
working situation further strengthened bonds among all family
members. Parents reported that they saw their children more often
than they had in the United States because they were teaching in the
school their children attended. They therefore had regular
opportunities to share in their children's schooling in a way that
would be unusual in other environments.

Informants also reported that there seldom were opportunities for
prepared entertainment in their overseas community, because media such
as television, movie theaters, and similar amusements were often less
prevalent than in the U.S. Children were therefore motivated to spend
more time in interpersonal contact, much of it contact with family.
The increased communication which was reported to result from this
situation was felt by many informants to increase the quality of
interpersonal relationships, thus becoming another source of family
solidarity.

Recreation

The informants described a variety of variables in the living situation which influenced their recreational activities. In some school communities, particularly those in more remote or culturally different areas, the informants typically reported that the school became a recreational center for their family, as well as for much of the expatriate community. Several stated that because of the quality and availability of school facilities in comparison to local alternatives, not only students, but faculty, parents, and sometimes other expatriates not directly associated with the school, made frequent use of the facilities for recreational purposes. Several teachers also reported that they spent more time at school than they previously had, primarily because their own children were involved in school-sponsored activities.

The amount of free time was mentioned by informants as another variable. Many informants working in countries where household help was available and affordable, reported that the amount of time they put into their school work was more than what they had devoted in the United States, but that they often had more free time as well. The household assistance, in many cases described as "full-time" or "live-in," allowed the informants to use their nonworking time for activities that would have been impossible, had household responsibilities not been covered by someone else.

The following is illustrative of many of the attitudes expressed
on this subject:

> In the U.S. we spent an incredible amount of time washing
> floors, washing dishes. . . . When you don't have that as
> a part of your life, it is very easy to wonder how you could
> have done it for 20 or 30 years. It's not fun! How can
> you get satisfaction out of cleaning your underwear? We
> like our help and we think we pay them well; and we don't
> have to [do the tasks we dislike]. We have hours and
> hours of free time. We can read, spend time with our
> family, and do things we want to do.

Several personal orientations, which apparently influence the
ways in which recreational time is used, were reflected in the
comments of the informants. A few of the teachers reported that their
main interest during their free time was their family and that they
therefore spent what free time they had at home or involved with the
family in activities. Many cited the heavy work load of their jobs as
an incentive to use free time at home relaxing and reading. A few
mentioned that sport was their greatest recreational outlet, and that
this also was often an avenue for making new social contacts.
Depending on orientation, the amount of time spent on these activities
varied, but in the free time that was left, almost all informants
reported taking time to explore the host environment.

Several of the informants noted that in a strange cultural
environment, even everyday sights and sounds were exciting, if for no
other reason, just because they were different from previous
experiences. Typical of these responses was the comment of a teacher,

living in Indonesia at the time of the study, who described how each time he walked out of his house he encountered something he had never seen before.

Cultural Exposure

In trying to define the advantages of living in a foreign country, informants often related incidents in which regular contact with people and events had increased their depth of understanding for the host culture. Examples given by informants ranged from talking about religion with a Brahmin business manager in "our school in Afghanistan," to going to weddings, funerals, and wine festivals in Greece. One informant described his pleasure at being singled out by a host country staff member in Zaire to take part in a fertility rite which involved a witch doctor and a termite mound large enough for two people to spend hours inside it. Another related how, while he was living in Ethiopia, the chief of a nearby village had offered him the hand of his daughter in marriage.

For each of these situations, and many more like them, informants reported a variety of pleasant sensations, many of which seem to be interrelated. One informant said, "we have grown a lot. A whole new world has opened up to us." Another said that, "getting out and surviving in a foreign culture gave me a sense of accomplishment." Still another stated that "you feel you are advancing your own life by doing unusual things, by having new experiences." A teacher who had taught in Africa, Europe, and Asia stated that "you get the feeling

that you are seeing or doing something that makes you unique; it's the chance to do things that you would never do back home, and by living in one place you get a better picture."

This final comment seems to capture the difference informants saw between living in a country and traveling through it, and many of them made the distinction. Living in a culture provided the informants with a depth of understanding that was not possible to obtain on a trip. This depth of understanding was regularly described as "exciting" and it also seemed to represent a measure of personal growth or accomplishment to the informants.

Travel

Descriptions of the advantages of travel, as opposed to living in a country, seemed to place less emphasis on the understanding one could obtain about the culture, and placed more emphasis on memories, experiences, and new sensory perceptions. A degree of understanding was still prevalent however, as illustrated by the comment of an informant who said that "traveling makes news and world events come alive for you. It widens your perspective of the world and you are more attuned to events because you have been [where they take place]."

In regard to both living in a foreign country and traveling through one, informants stated that the experience enhanced their "sensitivity," "tolerance," or some similar emotion. Illustrative of such comments are the following:

I think that no matter where you go, you have a tendency
to want to do something special. [In Ecuador] we took a
truck and mule trip to go camping, and happened across a
fiesta which had been arranged to celebrate the opening
of a new hospital in a small town. The people were so
gracious to us. In the U.S. you get the feeling that you
must be invited to be welcome. It was special in this
situation because we were accepted, even though we
arrived by accident. It made us realize that wherever
you go, regardless of race, color, or whatever, people
have the same kind of hopes and aspirations.

The travel opportunities I have had from living overseas
make me question what I'm doing and the values in my
life. They make me appreciate human beings, and make
me sensitive to the fact that there are other people
with other life styles. I grew up in middle-class white
suburbia. In the U.S. you grow up with an image that
you hold a certain slot in life. [Travel] makes you
grow and [makes you] put things in a different
perspective than you would in suburbia U.S.A.

Whether the experience was superficial, as characterized by
travel in a country, or whether it had depth, as characterized by
living in a country, exposure to cultures, events, and people were
identified by informants as other major advantages associated with
living in a foreign country. One teacher seemed to reflect the
attitude of most informants when she said that she had "a National
Geographic mentality."

Some negative trade-offs were identified in relation to travel.
These included the need to live out of suitcases, the planning that
was often necessary for extended trips, and the poor accommodations
and other discomforts that would often accompany a trip. However,
planning and suitcase living were generally seen as minimal

inconveniences. In regard to the hardships associated with the actual travel, most informants stated that these were later perceived in positive terms, because they represented much of the excitement and accomplishment associated with the experience.

Social Interaction Outside the Family

The patterns of social life for the teachers in this study can be characterized by the answers to the following three questions. Who did the teachers meet? How did they meet these people? What was the quality of these relationships?

School-Based Contacts

Differences in the nature of the overseas communities caused the answers to these questions to vary somewhat, but several patterns seemed to emerge which were common to some degree throughout the schools and which were somewhat different than what the informants had described as their U.S. experience. In each of the interviews, informants described making a wider variety of acquaintances overseas than they had in the United States. Although these contacts were not directly related to the teachers' work, most of them concerned people who had something to do with the school.

In most interviews, especially in those reflecting experiences in the smaller and more remote school communities, informants reported that they saw parents much more frequently than they did during their U.S. teaching experience and saw them more often on a social basis. The informants provided several reasons for this phenomenon.

First, the teachers, especially in the small overseas communities, often represented a significant part of the total expatriate community. For expatriates seeking people with similar backgrounds to their own, these teachers were therefore a major source of potential acquaintances. Second, in many of the overseas communities described, expatriates lived close to the school to facilitate transportation for their children. Teachers often lived nearby for the same reason and the two groups became neighbors. Third, in communities where the recreational facilities were limited, teachers and parents were likely to frequent the same places and therefore see each other regularly in a nonschool setting.

A teacher with experience in two Asian schools summarized much of what many informants said:

> In an overseas community everyone is transplanted. There are a large number of people who are experiencing similar stress or transitions in their lives. That is a situation that can bring people closer together. In the two school settings in which I have worked, the school is the focal point in people's lives. Everywhere you go you run into people from the school community. On a trip to Bali, I saw parents, students, and even board members. In the United States there is not the same amount of interaction with parents. If I'd run into a parent at the Safeway in California, the conversation would only be about school. Here I'm likely to sit down with the parent and have a beer; and the conversation would be of a much more personal nature.

Informants also suggested that overseas, parents and teachers had more in common than might be the case in other environments. Both groups were temporarily in the location because of their work, both

faced similar adjustments in relation to the local culture, and in many cases both had children in the same school. Since most expatriates were abroad because of special expertise, teachers and parents were likely to have similar levels of education.

In some cases the expatriate community described by the informants contained people from cultures which traditionally respect teaching and teachers to a much higher degree than what the informants perceived was common in the United States. These people frequently showed their appreciation by including the informants in social occasions, and in some cases, friendships resulted. Most of the negative comments made in regard to teacher-parent relationships were in reference to a few of the American parents who typically had limited education above high school and who were perceived to have limited appreciation for education.

The depth of information reported in their social relationships with parents was also reported to be true for students. Informants reported that they interacted with students outside of the classroom much more regularly than in the U.S. Several reasons were provided for this. Generally, teachers reported that they were much more involved in extra-curricular activities overseas and that this enabled them to get to know the students on a more personal basis. They also reported that they had many of the same commonalities with students that they did with the students' parents.

Informants reported that the degree of contact they had with their colleagues was also much higher in the overseas school experience than what they remembered from the U.S. The comments suggested that this was especially true during the adjustment stages in a new environment. Several informants referred to the very special relationships they had established with colleagues who arrived at the school at the same time as they did and with whom they had gone through the adjustment stage. Several others reported that when they first arrived in a location their social contacts were almost exclusively other teachers, but as their tenure increased they widened their circle of acquaintances, particularly if their tenure in the community extended beyond that of friends on the teaching staff with whom they had arrived.

Contacts in the Host Culture and in the Wider Community

The degree to which informants reported that they established social contacts with the local populace seemed to vary with personal orientation, with the nature of the host culture, with the housing situation, and with the degree of local representation in the student body. Several individuals reported that their work was the major focus of their lives and that although they enjoyed being what one described as an "outsider looking in" on the culture, they had little opportunity or desire to become part of it. Several informants worded this as resisting the chance to "go native."

Informants stated that in countries where the host culture was significantly different from their own contact with the local culture was limited to specific groups. Some informants in such locations reported establishing more than casual acquaintances with shopkeepers or tradesmen. In countries where household help was common, informants often described the close relationships that had arisen between their families and the families of the help.

Opportunities informants had to meet their host country neighbors were reported to vary greatly with housing arrangements and with the similarity of the host culture to that of the United States. Informants reported that living in a compound greatly reduced the exposure they had to the local culture. Only a few of the informants working in non-western cultures reported that they had established close relations with their neighbors, but for those working in Europe, there were several references to friendly neighbors, especially in regard to those neighbors' attention to the children in the teacher's family. One couple in Scotland described this relationship as that of substitute grandparents.

Most of the other social relationships reported by the informants to exist between themselves and members of the local culture were established with or through parents of the students in the school. In locations where local students were prohibited from attending the school, or were only present in limited numbers, the amount of this contact was severely reduced.

Generally, when informants described their social contacts with host-country parents, they pointed out that these people were of a select stratum of local society. To afford the American/International schools' tuitions, these parents generally needed to be from a wealthy background. In many cases they were reported to represent the social and economic elite of the country.

Many informants also reported acquaintances or friendships with other expatriates in their respective communities. This group was also described by most informants as selective. As indicated by earlier passages, expatriates are generally sent abroad because of their expertise in some area. In many cases they were described by informants as being the country managers or sub-managers for multi-national corporations or high level diplomats. The change for the informants to interact with such people was consistently described as a special experience.

Contacts With Special People

Some of these special people were parents such as those previously described. Others were not related to the school but resident in the host country at the time the informant met them. A few, generally described as no more than interesting contacts, were transient. Several illustrations were given to describe the nature of these special contacts and the feelings that those contacts produced.

One informant said of his friendship with a parent who was arguably the most well-known artist in Pakistan and perhaps one of the

most well-known in the Middle East. "What's the chance of me sitting down (in the U.S.) and talking to Andy Warhol for four hours? The same people are in the U.S., but you're never going to have the opportunity to meet them."

Another informant said of an experience in Romania:

At a reception I ended up talking to Vice President Bush and the Secretary of Defense about schools. In the U.S. I might have been one of several thousand who would see them at a rally. When the U.S. Davis cup team was in the country we had the opportunity to meet the players personally. In an overseas setting [experiences like these] are a natural thing. It feels good to have actual contact with people you [normally] only read about and see on TV.

Because the clientele of the overseas schools in which these teachers have worked has been described as highly selective, many of the contacts with this group were described as special. However, the contact between teachers and parents did not seem to be the only aspect of overseas life which explained the opportunities for the special social contact that the informants described. Just by living in a country as an expatriate, the individual came to feel special.

Several informants made comments to the effect that, when overseas, they felt they were not just another teacher. What they implied was that, because they were in this culture, they were perceived by others as something out of the ordinary, and that this removed the socioeconomic labels or stereotypes that might have limited interaction in a typical United States environment. In a

similar vein, informants also mentioned that because the resources in these communities were often limited, their expertise in music, sports, or some other field, gave them an added degree of importance or respect.

The most obvious examples of this facet of overseas life were described in relation to musical and athletic talents. One informant reported playing professionally in a national symphony while working full-time in a non-music capacity at a school in Southeast Asia. Another's experience was even more dramatic. As head of the music department at a remote boarding school in India, he was asked to conduct the national symphony. Several informants stated that they had been able to play sports on national or even international levels, because they were what one described as "big fish in a little pond."

Contacts between the informants and the parents were generally related to school, but in many cases they went beyond the strictly professional level the informants had experienced in their U.S. experience and added to the informants' sense of recognition. Many informants told about being invited to dinner or receptions by ambassadors or other high level diplomats. A teaching couple described their experience of being invited to tea by the wife of the president of Pakistan, whose son attended their school. A teacher in Europe said he played tennis regularly with the board president of the school, who was also the European director for a major multi-national

company. In each of these examples, and in many others, the experience was noteworthy to the informants because, based on experiences at home, it was unexpected.

Besides being exciting solely because these were experiences which the informants felt they could not duplicate in the U.S., such contacts were also reported to be pleasurable for other reasons.

> In the United States I grew up in middle class white suburbia. Here I'm exposed to and meet a variety of interesting people. At home I would not hob nob with high ranking government officials, with international sports stars, or with the richest people in the country. [These experiences] make me feel that there is no real difference in people, and when I hold a conversation with someone who is supposed to be a high ranking whatever, and he listens to and respects my opinions, it makes me feel good about myself.

> We were in a different social group in Britain. When we went to Jamaica [we found] a fairly isolated community with no social classes. It was refreshing. Everyone mixed. Not only was there social interaction between classes, but between ages. In effect, you were put on a par with the elite of the community.

The sentiments expressed here were echoed throughout the interviews. Whether the social contacts described by informants were with the emperor of Ethiopia, with the head of a major international corporation, with the president of the board of directors of the school, or with whomever, informants perceived that the overseas environment somehow broke down social barriers that would have prevented that contact from taking place in their home country. In addition to the novelty value found in these situations, they seemed

to be pleasing to many because they represented a form of recognition for the informant. In many cases the informants stated that they felt this recognition was not only personal, but professional. One teacher said that as a teacher in the United States "you are a public servant and not very important. In the overseas environment you definitely have a different role, status, and level of responsibility."

The Quality of Interpersonal Relations

As evidenced by the descriptions of the meetings with visiting celebrities, some of the social contact the informants enjoyed was unique but fleeting. However, in most instances informants emphasized the depth of the social relationships they had enjoyed during their overseas tenure. Some of the reasons for this depth, what informants often described as an increased sense of "intimacy" or "camaraderie," have been addressed in the previous discussions about parents, students, and colleagues. This characteristic of overseas life was repeatedly emphasized by informants, and therefore it receives attention here as a separate topic.

Examples have been presented in the previous discussion which indicate the reasons for this intimacy. In regard to other expatriates, especially those with similar cultural backgrounds, several quotations have addressed the fact that in an overseas situation people need each other in ways that are different than in their home society. Informants described how they needed other

teachers and other expatriate families for entertainment, for assistance in adjusting to and surviving in a new culture, and for providing roots and stability in regard to their own culture.

Informants reported that in many of the overseas communities, opportunities for entertainment were limited to the resources the expatriates brought with them or could invent. Without television and theaters they were forced to depend on human contact for much of their entertainment. Because the number of people with whom the teachers had cultural ties was more limited than in the United States, especially in remote and culturally different environments, expatriates were thrown together in ways that broke down socioeconomic class barriers that might have existed elsewhere.

In regard to daily existence, the informants found that they had much in common with other expatriates and therefore a common ground for social interaction. Regardless of background, all expatriates shared many adaptation problems and concerns. Informants reported that the nature of the community often allowed them to be perceived by the other expatriates in non-teaching roles with which the expatriates could readily identify. Teachers and other expatriates often shared concerns as parents with children in the same school. They shared community problems; and they often saw each other as neighbors. Informants also noted that because many of the expatriates in their communities were relatively transient, there was an increased urgency

to get to know people quickly, and that this also served to minimize social barriers.

Informants commonly remarked that the expatriates shared another important quality; they were all outsiders in a foreign country. Not only did this fact bring them together because of shared experiences in adapting to the host environment, but it brought them together because they shared the need to maintain their own national and personal identity through language and customs. Many of the informants described how they depended on other expatriates to help them celebrate U.S. holidays, and how other expatriates became substitutes for their families in the United States during these special occasions.

Social relations with parents who were host country nationals, or with expatriate parents from countries other than the informant's own, were also characterized as closer than the relations informants had experienced with parents while working in the U.S. Informants attributed part of this to the high level of education common to these parents, and to the resultant importance these parents gave to education for their own children. Many informants stated that they believed that because these parents realized that their own jobs were largely the result of advanced education, they were more likely to think highly of teachers. In some cases this attitude was also attributed to the cultural values of nationalities which held teachers

in higher esteem than what the informants' experiences indicated was true in the United States.

The informants who addressed this issue, and most did, agreed that the social relations they developed in any of their overseas experiences were to some degree closer than those they had experienced in the United States, but that the degree of this closeness varied with the overseas environment. This degree of closeness was reportedly most dependent on the sophistication of the living environment, in comparison to western culture and amenities. Where the level of sophistication was low, the closeness of interpersonal relations seemed to increase. Where the level of sophistication was high, interpersonal relations were less close, but were still perceived to be at a higher level than the informants had experienced in the United States.

Based on what has been presented here, several generalizations about the nature of the social life of the teachers in this study seem to be reasonable. These observations can be tied to the three questions posed earlier.

In answer to the question of who the teachers met, it seems reasonable to say firstly, that the overseas environment widened the scope of social contacts. Social contact with the entire school community—students, parents, and colleagues—who often became a major part of the teacher's social life. The nature of the school and

community population in the overseas situation also seemed to enable an overseas teacher to meet and relate to many people with whom he or she would not have expected to have social contact with in the U.S. Because the teacher was in an expatriate environment, he or she was somewhat unique and that uniqueness became a means for diminishing social and economic barriers.

In regard to how the teachers made social contacts, the most commonly cited means was through the school. The informants in this study generally perceived their colleagues as a greater source of friendships than they did in the U.S. Friendships and social occasions with parents and students were reported to be prevalent overseas; in contrast, during their U.S. experience, informants stated they had only limited contact with these groups outside of school.

Other social contacts developed because the informants occupied a unique position as a member of an overseas community. Social barriers which the informants perceived had existed for teachers in their U.S. experience were broken down by the transience of the expatriate population, by the commonalities in lifestyle that the teachers shared with community members, and by the limited social resources available to all members of the community. As expatriates, the teachers also had a commonality in nationality, if nothing else, with important visitors to the community. This commonality was often reported to be enough to allow social contact with individuals with whom the

informant would have had little opportunity to interact in a different environment.

In reference to the quality of their social interactions, the informants described a closeness or intimacy with many segments of the community which they felt would be unusual in the U.S. Relations with colleagues were described as more than just professional. Close social relations with parents and students outside the work environment were described as common, especially in the smaller and more remote communities. The informants said that meaningful friendships developed more quickly because all parties shared needs and experiences and because they realized that the transience of the community would not allow a more gradual development.

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, it is difficult to separate the working and living situation in terms of job satisfaction. This discussion of the social life of the informants is a good example of why that is true, especially in the environment being described. In the overseas schools, colleagues and clients become more than just professional contacts. They often represent the teachers' friends as well. In the rest of this chapter, other aspects of the nonprofessional life of the overseas teachers in the study are described and the influence of the job is also apparent. As one informant said, "in the United States teaching is a job. Overseas, it is a way of life."

Perceived Concerns and Advantages of Life in an
Overseas School Community

In the previous parts of this chapter, the author has attempted to describe the experiences which constituted life outside work for a teacher in an American/International school community. In the remainder, an attempt was made to identify specifically how these experiences were either perceived as concerns or advantages when the informants responded to questions about what were the aspects of overseas life that they found either pleasant or unpleasant. Some of these findings have been alluded to in the previous sections, but they are expanded here for clarification.

Concerns About Ties With Home

When asked to describe the negatives associated with life in an American/International school community, informants most often cited the difficulties they found in maintaining ties with home. These were generally in relation to family ties, ties with former friends, and the maintenance of personal and national identity.

In more than 85% of the interviews, informants stated that loss of contact with their parents and other relations was one of, if not the most, negative feature of living and working abroad. This was stated in different ways. Some informants expressed a sense of guilt at not being with their parents more as they grew older. Others felt they were depriving their parents and children of a chance to see each other regularly. Still others regretted the lost opportunities to see

their nieces and nephews grow and the lost opportunities for their children to see their cousins. The following is typical of the many comments on the subject.

> Both [my wife] and I have lost a parent while overseas. For all of the benefits and all of the great things that overseas life can offer you, there is the sacrifice that you must leave your family behind. You leave your mother, your father, your sisters, and your brothers; and you never know what's going to happen. My mother died at 56 and I had always thought that someday I would have lots of time with her when I got the overseas bug out of my system. After that I questioned whether it was all worth it. There was a constant guilt. Should I be with my father?

The feeling of guilt mentioned by this informant and many others seemed to be strongest for informants whose parents had difficulty understanding their desire to stay abroad. While many parents were reported to share the informants' excitement for overseas living, others could not understand why their children would want to leave the United States. On illustration of this is the following:

> Our parents' attitude [about out life in Brazil] was, "well you only have eight more months on your contract and then you'll be able to come home." They couldn't understand that we actually liked it. [My husband] finally had to say to his parents that we didn't want to stay in the United States, that we wanted to go back overseas.

Other parents were reported to have accepted the informants' interests in overseas life, but as one teacher stated, "they dislike us going overseas. They are afraid that we won't come back." Such situations have created a dilemma for many of the teachers in this study, but most have found ways to compensate.

The most commonly cited form of compensation involved regular and lengthy visits with families during vacation periods. The regularity of these visits and their duration seemed to increase as the informants' overseas tenure became longer and their parents became older. Many of the informants expressed the belief that their contact with parents was probably greater when they were overseas than it would be if they lived across the country.

The adjustment was described in the following quote is typical of many comments:

> I think that a lot of teachers would say that the hardest part is being away from family, but we find that we end up spending more time with our families than if we were here [in the U.S.]. So we don't see it as a negative. [If we were in the U.S.] I think we would see them, but I don't think of that in terms of quality time, special time. It is a time we put aside specifically to have close interactions. Our Christmas trip two years ago was a very special holiday. There were lots of close family activities. I don't think it can be so special when you see each other all the time.

A wish expressed by several of the informants was to have a place of their own, a summer house, in which parents, family, and special friends could visit them and in which they would have a semblance of stability instead of living out of suitcases for two months. In over 25% of the interviews, informants stated they had achieved this goal, and several more were looking for suitable property at the time of the interview.

Another way the informants compensated for the distance from family was to have parents visit them in their overseas locations.

One couple stated that visits from parents were important because the parents could see their home "as it is; see that we are not just tourists." Several others commented that they thought they had "enriched" their parents lives by giving them the opportunity and excuse to travel.

In addition to the difficulty in maintaining ties with family, most informants also remarked on the gradual estrangement they felt they had undergone from people who were once close friends in the United States. Typical of these comments is that of a teacher who said that "we can't share our experiences with friends at home. I think they would like to know, but they just can't relate because they lack the experience." Most said that they learned in a hurry that although descriptions of their lives might stir some initial interest, their friends soon seemed to lose interest, and the conversation would become very one-sided.

Most informants stated that when they met old friends they generally answered a few perfunctory questions about their lives overseas, then tried to steer the conversation to topics to which they felt their friends could relate: "the deer he shot last winter" (from Pennsylvania), "the play of the local football team" (from England), "how the Redlegs were doing that season" (from Indiana), or the activities of friends' children (many examples were given). Informants inevitably stated something like, "we no longer fit in with our former friends because we no longer had many things in common." One teacher expanded on this:

> When we get together with old friends from the U.S. we
> always answer a few questions about where we are and what
> we are doing, but we don't push that. I used to think
> they weren't interested. Now I think they are interested,
> but can't relate to things they have not experienced. Their
> only reference points are a few things from the news.
> Overseas you can relate to an ambassador because you have
> things in common [but with friends in the U.S. it's more
> difficult].

As with the distances from the families, informants generally
described ways in which they had learned to adjust to the weakening
ties to former friends.

> Our families have been interested in the slides, but other
> friends from our past have no way to relate to our
> experiences. We have the most fun talking to others who
> have shared our overseas experiences. Other overseas
> people become your closest friends. It's almost a family
> connection, and you miss these people when you each go
> your separate ways.

Implied in this last statement are two related negative aspects
of overseas living which were identified by several informants and
two positive trade-offs for those negatives. The first negative is
the loss of contact with old friends at home. The trade-off to that
is the emergence of many new friendships, which because of the social
situation described earlier, solidify quickly and often become very
deep.

The second negative is the transient nature of these friendships,
due to the fact that the tenure of teachers and other expatriates in
one post was usually characterized as only a few years. Because of
this aspect of overseas life, separation from close friends was

described as a common occurrence. This trade-off often described with regard to transience was that, despite the transience, one could generally maintain friendships made overseas. The informants stated that the yearly travel they and the other expatriates enjoyed enabled these contacts to be renewed frequently. Furthermore, informants said that when they met overseas friends again, the relationships easily resumed their former closeness because both parties could relate to what the other had experienced in the interim.

The final concern dealt with ties to the United States: many informants identified these as a lack of roots for those who live and work abroad. As one informant said, "you begin to feel like you don't exactly know where you belong any more." Some expressed this rootlessness in terms of living out of suitcases and not owning a house in the United States. An even more common situation involved the informants' changes in personal and national identity. Many of the informants tended to see themselves becoming what was often described as a "more international" person. The following are typical of the many responses on the subject.

> When we come back to the United States, we find the people uncomfortably provincial. American people are so uninformed about the rest of the world that they can not identify with our experiences.

> I know that the longer I'm overseas, the harder it will be to go back and live in the United States. I know I'm going to find people very narrow minded. They will not be interested in what I've done, and I think I'll find it boring.

> What we feel, or the way we think is different now. I
> think we look at the U.S. in a totally different light
> than we did before we left. I think our attitude about
> why other countries do what they do, at the higher
> levels of government, are a lot more realistic than
> [what is typical] in the United States. I think we see
> the importance of what our government does in relation
> to how other people see us.

Many informants expressed the opinion that they thought their
overseas experience had given them a more realistic perspective on the
world. They often remarked on how difficult it was to talk about
their life overseas with people they saw in the U.S. because the
sensational coverage given many events in the U.S. media bore
little resemblance to daily life as they experienced it. The
consensus among these teachers was that people in the U.S. too often
stereotyped life in foreign countries on the basis of a few news
reports or on the basis of misrepresentations from other, uninformed
sources.

One informant, in describing his adjustment to life in Brazil,
told how it had gradually dawned on him that his impressions about
life in other countries, based on what he had been exposed to in
schools, movies, etc. in the United States, was not very accurate.

> Living in the U.S. all your life you learned to think
> that everybody in the world, at least in those days,
> thought the U.S. was the greatest place in the world.
> [You thought that] most people, had they been given
> the chance, would have wanted to be born an American.
> You have to be away from it to realize that, although
> some people like certain things about America, that
> perception is not necessarily true. The people [we
> knew] in Brazil would have liked to visit America, but

they were Brazilians. They loved their country. It
made us realize for the first time that there were
countries in the world where people were not dying to
become American. You grow up in the U.S. with that
type of indoctrination.

The word patriotism was often used in reference to situations
such as those described in the previous few paragraphs. Informants
felt they were no less patriotic because they were able to see the
faults of their country. On the contrary, those who addressed the
subject all felt that their overseas experience had shown them that
even with its faults few countries could match what the United States
had to offer. These informants seemed to be saying that their
overseas life had made them realize that there were many areas in
which the United States could improve its image, and that the poor
image the U.S. portrayed to the rest of the world was a product of an
insular and uninformed perspective which many of the informants said
they encountered in the United States.

Perhaps the most demonstrative of the many examples of this line
of thinking was expressed by a teacher who recounted an incident he
experienced in Afghanistan in which he and a number of other American
expatriates watched a delayed TV coverage of Nixon's resignation from
the presidency.

The people on the screen were dancing in the street.
After it was over [at first] no one said anything. Then
everyone got up and we sang the national anthem. There
were tears in that place. The [the resignation] was not
something that anyone there was proud of. The repercussions

around the world were awesome, and no one in the U.S. seemed to have an understanding of that. I think being overseas made us a lot more sensitive to America's position in the world.

What the informants described about the degree to which they were able to maintain ties with home seems to support several generalizations. First, estrangement from family, friends, and personal and national identity is a major concern of this group. Second, in each case, the informants have tried to adjust their lives to compensate for the identity deficiencies they have found overseas, and they have been relatively successful, as witnessed by the fact that they have decided to remain abroad.

The concerns in regard to former ties which have been described here represented the majority of those expressed by informants. Others, in reference to security, health, and cultural adaptation were mentioned, but the attention given to those items was limited in comparison to both what has been mentioned in relation to ties with home.

Other Concerns

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the informants' expressed concerns, other than those described above, is the paucity of them. Concerns regarding security, health, and other difficulties were mentioned most often only in passing, and the amount of time and importance the informants gave to these aspects of overseas life were insignificant in comparison to the informants' discussion of other

topics. In view of the fact that these informants were nominated because they have found success, and one would therefore assume satisfaction within the overseas environment, the paucity of these concerns might not be so surprising.

As might be expected, concerns about security varied greatly with the locations in which the informants had taught. During their respective overseas tenures the majority of the informants found themselves, at one time or another, in third world countries with significant social and political upheaval. Several informants described their evacuation from Iran during the final days before Khomeini took power. Others were temporarily evacuated from Pakistan after the burning of the American embassy there in 1979. Two were forced to leave Libya in 1981, when then President Carter canceled the validity of American passports for that country. Some reported being witness to anti-American demonstrations or being involved in what were potentially dangerous situations while traveling.

However, the reaction to such experiences was seldom reported as completely negative. Several of the teachers evacuated from Pakistan stated that the concern and support provided by their schools and by non-Americans in their school communities were some of the most positive aspects of their entire overseas experience. Many informants expressed the opinion that they felt more secure in these third world locations than they did in parts of the United States in which they

had lived previously. Others stated that they felt the press given to certain incidents was far more suggestive of personal danger than their experiences living a few miles from these incidents would indicate. In reference to his experience with several coups in Bolivia and an evacuation from Pakistan, one informant said:

> You find out it's far different being there than reading about it in U.S. newspapers. [The evacuation] wasn't really a big deal; but if you heard about it in the U.S. you would have thought it was. The descriptions in the papers are just food for thought.

Several informants reported that the proximity to what could be considered major events in the world was "exciting" and in many cases seemed to compensate for some of the potential danger. Others made comments which indicated that incidents which represented security risks were not paramount in one's mind when one was overseas. One teacher who took a 2-year break in the United States between overseas teaching assignments said:

> There was the overwhelming feeling when I went home in 1979 of how much at peace I was. There wasn't anything hanging over our heads in terms of our children's safety. You are never conscious of it when you're overseas. It was always there, but you weren't conscious of it.

Besides physical safety, some informants expressed some concern for financial security in their overseas careers. Some regretted the lack of social security programs and forced retirement programs, although many of these same teachers said that they could save more money abroad than they could have expected to save as teachers in the

U.S. The concerns expressed in this area seemed to be with the lack of surety and the lack of built-in support systems, which removed some of the responsibility for financial planning from the individual. This aspect seemed to also be influenced greatly by age. Informants facing a return to the U.S., or facing college tuitions for their children, most often addressed this concern.

Concerns about health followed a similar pattern to those regarding security. They were most prevalent in third world locations. They were most prevalent in regard to children. Generally they were accepted as a trade-off for other rewards. Typically, informants would simply state that there were health problems associated with overseas living, but they would seldom elaborate, except in a few cases concerning children.

Many of the concerns expressed in regard to cultural differences have already been described in the section on adjustment, but the concerns in this area, like those described above, were scattered and perfunctory. In most cases the frustrations stemming from cultural attitudes toward time, from attitudes toward women, or from other sources. Although initially annoying, these were described by informants as part of a positive growth process.

One negative that has not been previously discussed, and which received attention from several of the informants, concerns difficulties in dealing with the bureaucratic aspects of life in a

foreign country. In several cases informants stated that the paperwork involved with visas, police registration, etc. was an unpleasant aspect of overseas living. A similar amount of dissatisfaction was expressed in relation to the difficulties involved in changing money from U.S. to local currency. Frustration was also expressed by a few informants who were forced to find and maintain housing in a foreign environment, in which they felt they were at a disadvantage because of their unfamiliarity with the language and/or the accepted ways of doing things. Those informants who had faced these frustrations in one environment, and then had received assistance from their school in another, were most vocal on the subject. They invariably perceived the time and frustrations spent on these activities as an infringement upon limited leisure time and upon time that they could otherwise devote to their work.

Judging from the descriptions of concerns discussed in this section it would seem that the most prevalent theme within the descriptions of the difficulties of overseas life is an acceptance of potential difficulties in return for other rewards. In comparing their lives overseas to their lives in the U.S., most informants described difficulties related to the limited access to amenities and services abroad. However, these difficulties were not perceived to be of major consequence. Several reasons for this were mentioned.

The remarks of the informants indicated that the differences might not be as great as imagined, especially when one considers the resources available to many expatriates. Even as teachers, the informants described themselves as wealthy in relation to most of the indigenous population in many third-world countries. They were therefore competitive for access to the best of the goods and services that were available. In many cases, especially in the less developed countries, the informants reported that they had access to western products and services through government-sponsored or school-sponsored agencies such as commissaries or health units. In many cases informants described ways in which the school furnished or assisted them with housing and other services, thus decreasing the difficulties involved in bringing their living standards to a level comparable to what they had left in the United States.

A second possibility suggested by the informants' comments was that these overseas teachers saw the concerns they expressed as acceptable trade-offs for the more positive aspects of overseas living. One informant stated that his major worry in regard to contracting hepatitis in South America was that it would interfere with a planned trip on the Amazon. Another stated that her first reaction to the news that she would be evacuated from Pakistan was that a sports convention would have to be canceled. Several described the excitement they felt at being close to potentially dangerous, but important, world events.

A third possibility, and one related to the previous one, is that because of their personalities these individuals reacted positively to new situations which others might find negative. Change, whether positive or negative, may be a source of satisfaction for some, even when the change threatens basic needs. As evidenced by the findings on the attitudinal characteristics of this group, many of the teachers in this study expressed an enjoyment derived from just being exposed to new situations.

As noted previously, the concerns described in this and the previous section were expressed in answer to a question about the unpleasant things the informants associated with overseas life. In the remainder of the chapter the advantages of overseas life, as identified by the informants, are presented in four categories which seem to encompass all the major advantages described. The basis for these four categories are (a) comments that reflected positive social benefits which teachers found in the American/International school communities in which they worked, (b) comments which reflected the advantages many informants found in having domestic help, (c) comments which reflected the advantages informants perceived for their families, and (d) comments which reflected opportunities the informants found to pursue special activities in these communities.

Social Advantages

The informants described social advantages in the overseas environment that were a product of the recognition and attention

these teachers received from parents, from people in the host country
environment, and from the school. The following comments made by
informants are indicative of the types satisfaction derived from these
contacts:

> Overseas, social life is much more glamorous than in
> comparison to home. Social classes in the community are
> not well defined. You are elevated to higher echelons.
> [For example] in Islamabad we played tennis regularly
> with the German ambassador. It was exciting, because
> these were people in positions of power, and it gave
> you a chance to see a different side of life. You
> could talk to them about things that the guy down the
> street at home would not have clue about. We were
> exposed to people from many occupations, while back
> home we had mostly teacher friends. Here too we
> associate with teachers, but also with expatriate
> business people and diplomats.

> Meeting people--ambassadors, etc.--makes you feel
> important, or makes you wonder how this guy got such
> an important job. I think it's a sense of being a
> participant in life, not just a spectator. Overseas
> you are placed in a special category.

> If you had the head of G.M. in your community at home
> you would probably never meet him. Here, you probably
> would.

> Meeting special people makes you feel a little more
> important, a little better about yourself.

Perhaps the most prevalent phrase used by the informants was that
these contacts made the informant "feel more important." Generally
the informants reported that they enjoyed meeting new and interesting
people, and that their overseas life increased the probability that
they could do so. As an added satisfier, they often reported that
when people, who they perceived as important and knowledgeable,

listened to and seemed to respect their opinions, this increased their feelings of self-esteem.

Several informants described incidents in which host country people had given them unexpected and special assistance and in doing so had made them feel welcome and consequently important. As a representative example, one teacher related a case in which she had been harassed by a street urchin near a neighborhood vegetable stand. The vegetable vendor, an elderly man who spoke no English, went to great lengths to catch the boy and then to try and demonstrate that the boy's behavior was not representative of the local culture or the way the people in that culture treated foreigners.

A trade-off to the special status accorded foreigners concerns an anti-American sentiment reported by a few informants in regard to some countries in which they had lived. Although no informants reported that they felt that these feelings were directed at them personally, several reported being witness to demonstrations or similar incidents.

The Advantages of Having Domestic Help

In many cases informants reported that they also developed close personal relations with household help. Informants related incidents in which they helped their servants with financial problems, financed education for their servants' children, and became involved with their servants' lives in other ways. Many of these attachments were lasting.

> I could just walk out of the house, even travel, and have
> confidence in the security of my house. You cry when you
> leave these people. [My husband] went back to Manila for
> a visit last year and found his favorite dish on the table
> when he arrived. Our former maid had found out he was
> coming and had come to our friends' house to prepare it.
> They seem to anticipate your needs; it's a symbiotic
> relationship.

Along with the added free time which resulted from having
domestic help, other advantages were expressed. One of the most
commonly expressed additional benefits was illustrated by a teacher
who said, "if I were teaching in the United States I would need to
take [my son] to a nursery. In Pakistan we had a live-in helper who
gave him loving care, and I could see him throughout the day." Other
teachers referred to this as the increased amount of "quality time"
that servants allowed them to spend with their children.

Although servants provided many advantages, most informants found
some negative trade-offs to having them. Several informants reported
that it took time to get used to having servants in the house and to
establish a comfortable household routine. Others spoke about
language barriers and the gap between their standards and those of the
servants. Several commented on the loss of privacy that goes along
with having extra people in the house. Several of these concerns and
others are expressed in the following:

> Servants can also be a negative. You can become a
> benefactor. We had a cook with five kids living in our
> servants quarters. You start worrying about their
> health, because they don't have the same standards we
> do. [For example] our cook's daughter was injured one
> summer while we were away, and by the time we got back
> gangrene had set in. Sometimes you want more privacy.

Advantages for the Family

As stated earlier, most of the informants expressed the belief that the initial hardships associated with a move into an American/International school community caused family members to depend more on each other. A second commonly expressed belief was that the quality of education available to the informants' children in a private American/International school environment was generally superior to what they had access to in their home country. One teacher stated that she thought her son had had "the kind of education a young Rockefeller would have received." Another teacher seemed to speak for many of the informants in saying that, at least in the Asian school in which he currently was working, his son could more easily avoid negative temptations, such as drugs and alcohol, which he perceived to be more prevalent in the United States. Other informants commented that they felt the quality and commitment of teachers was better overseas than they remembered from their teaching in the U.S. Many informants said something similar to the words of a father who stated that he thought the "caliber of [his son's] acquaintances was much higher overseas than in the United States, because the students were goal oriented and mutually supportive of each other."

Several informants identified trade-offs to the positive aspects of their children's schooling. Although most overseas schools were seen as superior, not all of them could boast the degree of advantage

described here. In addition, there were trade-offs identified in regard to the transient nature of the assignments. One informant stated that "for kids, especially teenagers, adjustment from one school to the next, from small to big, is difficult." However, this same individual went on to say that "the end result is still positive; [the] children are more confident because of their exposure and other opportunities."

The exposure and opportunities identified by this informant were perceived by all informants who addressed the topic as another advantage for an overseas family.

> Our kids are going to see the world through a different perspective than they would have [if they had grown up in the U.S.]. They will be more sensitive to others and will be less prejudiced. We don't [need to] talk about those things with them; they are living them. They are part of an international community. I don't think they could go back to rural Minnesota and be happy.

Another informant addressed the positive influence that overseas life had on her child's development from a different perspective.

> Overseas my children relate better to adults and adults take a greater interest in them. They enjoy the international mix of friends and school and traveling. Educational opportunities are probably greater for children overseas, but in small schools they might have to sacrifice some of the extra-curricular opportunities they would find in a comprehensive U.S. high school.

The previous comment, about adults taking a more active interest in children, addresses another social phenomenon which several informants identified as an advantage for overseas family life.

Because the informants were usually separated from their relatives, friends in the international communities often became substitute family. Several informants reported that they depended on older friends to act as substitute grandparents, aunts, or uncles. The frequency of interaction with others outside the family seemed to be increased by this dependency, and the intimacy of these relations seemed to be enhanced.

Based on the opinions expressed by the informants, several generalizations about the quality of family life in many overseas communities seem reasonable. For the majority of informants, overseas living enhanced positive relationships within their families. Informants generally perceived the quality of their children's schooling as being superior to what might be expected in the United States. They also perceived considerable educational and developmental value in their children's exposure to the wide variety of people who make up these expatriate communities.

Special Opportunities

The special opportunities for the informants which the American/ International school environment provided have already been described. Informants were able to meet new people, experience new cultures, see new sights, and do new things.

Review of the Overseas Life for Teachers

In reviewing the descriptions of the advantages and disadvantages of overseas life as presented by the informants, several themes or

general characteristics seem to repeat themselves throughout the
discussion and seem common, to some degree, throughout the schools
described. These themes or characteristics seem to be the most
prevalent determinants of satisfaction and dissatisfaction for
teachers in an American/International school environment.

Most of the teachers in this study stated that a primary reason
why they considered overseas employment was to experience something
new and exciting. For these teachers, all of whom have chosen to
remain overseas, that initial motivation seems to have been satisfied
to a considerable degree. There was consensus among the informants
that their overseas experience had exposed them to a variety of new
sights, events, people, and ideas. This exposure proved to be
exciting, and it enabled the informants to gain an increased
understanding of the world. Through this increased understanding the
informants perceived that they had grown in tolerance, sensitivity,
and other positive qualities.

Though most informants went abroad primarily for the exposure to
new cultures, etc., they found in the overseas lifestyle many other
advantages which, to most, were unexpected. They described a pleasing
degree of closeness and interdependence which developed within their
families. They described finding pleasure in the unexpected breadth
and quality of social interaction which overseas living enabled them
to enjoy. They described a quality of life that, in many cases, not

only offered them interesting opportunities, but also the time and other resources to take advantage of those opportunities. They described unexpected benefits for their children in regard to the quality of their education. They described a relaxing of social barriers which contributed to feelings of recognition and self-esteem.

These advantages were not completely without cost. Numerous trade-offs were also described. In gaining understanding and exposure to new things, the informants had to sacrifice former ties with relatives and friends. The experience also raised questions of personal identity. The intimacy informants enjoyed with their families was partially the product of instability and the need to confront hardships. The increased breadth and depth of their social relations were balanced by a limited access to recreational and other amenities and by a transience which threatened those relationships. Part of the enhanced lifestyle was perceived as a trade-off to additional responsibilities and a lack of privacy. The increased quality of the children's education often was at the expense of transience and instability. There were also the trade-offs of health and security to weigh in many situations.

Perhaps the most noteworthy of these negative trade-offs was that the informants had either minimized their importance or found ways to compensate for them. It seems logical to conclude that because they were able to do this, they chose to remain overseas.

It is also noteworthy that many of the advantages described by the informants were in addition to the travel rewards on which they had initially focused. They were serendipitous. In the next chapter the work environment for these teachers is described and the same phenomenon is apparent. For many, if not most, of the teachers who initially saw overseas teaching primarily as a means to inexpensive travel, the work situation provided many unexpected and serendipitous qualities.

CHAPTER VII
THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT OF THE OVERSEAS TEACHER

The third research question in this study was posed to address
the aspects of the work environment in American/International schools
which may have influenced job satisfaction for teachers. In his
discussion in relation to this question, the author concentrated on
the characteristics of that environment which might be considered
unique in comparison to public school teaching in the United States,
both as perceived by the informants and as described in the literature
review in Chapter III.

As with the previous chapter, certain qualifications should be
noted at the beginning of this discussion. Many of the qualities of
the informants' overseas living environment were also found in the
work environment making it difficult to distinguish clearly between
the two. In addition, the informants described significant
differences among the various schools in which they had worked.

Even with these differences, the informants' descriptions
indicated that the overseas schools still had much in common with each
other and with schools in the United States. Although they depended
on tuitions instead of taxes, they were usually governed by a board of
directors elected by the school community. As indicated earlier, the
curricula, methods, and materials were typical of U.S. public schools.

There were differences in the size and wealth of the overseas schools, but these differences are also found to some extent among schools and school districts in the U.S.

The major differences between these schools and public schools in the United States seem to lie in the nature and homogeneity of the clientele and the nature of the overseas schools' governance. Even though the overseas schools usually enrolled students from many nations, a homogeneity of values was described with regard to the parents who, regardless of nationality, were generally well educated and who held high academic aspirations for their children. With regard to governance, there were few, if any, outside agencies--state, federal, or other--that had a voice in school affairs. The overseas schools described in the study were seldom part of a district. Consequently the chain of command from policy making to implementation was short.

To present the informants' descriptions of work in these schools, the following discussion is divided into five parts. These parts contain the aspects of overseas teaching which were most important, in the eyes of the informants, in differentiating their work from that in the same occupation in the United States or in other overseas schools where informants were previously employed. It was in this comparative context that most of the descriptions were made.

The first four of these parts are primarily descriptive. The first, "the nature of the work," includes informants' perceptions of

resources, students, and word demands. The second section, "school structure and organization," was designed to describe the informants' perceptions of the roles played by teachers, administration, and boards in school operation, and the lines of communication among these groups. The third, "occupational climate," is focused primarily on social interaction and expectations within the schools. The fourth, "the nature of material rewards," is focused on how the informants were compensated by the schools.

The fifth section, "perceived advantages and disadvantages," is a summary of the informants' answers to the following question: What were the pleasant and unpleasant aspects associated with working in an American/International school? Reviewed are some of the main points discussed in the first three sections, as well as others which are unrelated to those topics. This final section is also divided into parts: a coverage of the expressed material satisfiers and dissatisfiers and coverage of the expressed psychic satisfiers and dissatisfiers.

The Nature of the Work

Resources

In reviewing the informant's descriptions of the physical resources available in the overseas schools in which they have worked, two observations appear repeatedly. First, the informants described a wide range of resources from one school to another. Second, whether

the availability of these resources was perceived as adequate or deficient, neither situation seemed to have much bearing on how the teachers felt about their work in the school.

Perhaps the greatest range in resources was described in regard to facilities. In many cases they were described as equal to what had been experienced in the United States, but there were some notable exceptions. Several of the overseas schools described were converted houses or other buildings which had not been originally designed as schools. Some of these structures were perceived as substandard. However, as demonstrated by the following quotation, other aspects of the teaching situation seemed to compensate for these deficiencies.

> The school was so tiny and the facilities were so punk that my first reaction to the school was, "how do they survive in this one?" Then it dawned on me that what we had was really a tight solidarity, and everybody got along. I guess you sort of knew that each person had to do extra things and that you had to be supportive of the other guy, because you knew the problems he had doing his job.

Another informant said,

> the school was a bit of a shock; it was very basic. But the academic standards were high. In terms of housing, income, and lifestyle, it was a step up from home.

Yet another comment was the following:

> It was a terrible physical plant, but a situation we liked. It was small, and you got to know each student quite well— a ma and pa school. We didn't feel like we were just one of a million teachers.

These comments are typical of several others and seem to indicate that poor facilities, although undesirable, were not a major concern

of the teachers, if other conditions were present in the teaching situation. Even when the facilities were described as excellent in comparison to what these teachers had experienced in the United States, no informant indicated that this was a major source of satisfaction with the work.

Comments in regard to the availability of teaching materials paralleled the descriptions of facilities. A wide range of situations was also described here. Several teachers said that during their overseas tenure they had been made to feel that they could order anything they felt was necessary for their classes. At the other extreme, some informants described budgetary limitations and a lack of access to basic materials, which necessitated their bringing these materials from the United States when returning from leave. At this extreme, one teacher referred to a teaching situation in Africa which she labeled as "chalk and talk" because there were few text books or other resources. However, even at the extremes, these situations were not described as particularly satisfying or dissatisfying, although informants did note a certain amount of satisfaction in being able to overcome deficiencies and in being able to successfully improvise.

The most prevalent comment about satisfying and dissatisfying things in regard to materials did not concern the availability of these resources in the country, but within the school. Several informants reported that they found that materials in the overseas

schools were not as tightly controlled as they had been in the larger, more bureaucratic schools in which they had worked while in the U.S. They stated that the added paperwork and other restrictions placed upon them in regard to obtaining materials in their U.S. schools reflected on their professionalism and detracted from time they could more profitably spend on instruction. They perceived the small size and limited bureaucracy associated with many overseas schools as a positive in this respect.

The resource most widely cited as a positive in regard to the overseas schools can be labeled as "people." Many informants related incidents in which the special talents or positions of parents or others in the school community had provided a teaching resource that would not have been available in their United States schools. The expatriate parents were overseas because of their expertise in some area. The host country parents were often leading industrialists with access to resources which could be included in the curriculum. Moreover, because of the breakdown in social barriers described previously, and because of the previously described personal nature of teacher/parent relations in many of the school communities, these special people were accessible. The following is illustrative of the point:

> In journalism we had the assistant editor of the New York Times spend a couple days at our school. She became interested in the school and worked with the kids. We also had the editor of the Manchester Guardian. In Europe or the

United States these people would be going about their business and I would be going about mine, and there would be no reason for us to mix. In an expatriate situation we have expertise that would not be otherwise available.

Another human resource described by many informants involved the other teachers in the school. The colleagues of the informants were generally described as "more committed" and/or "more capable" than the teachers with whom the informants had worked in the United States. This was reflected earlier in the comments about the benefits of having one's own child in an American/International school. Either because of the quality of these colleagues, or because of the closeness fostered by the small schools and small communities, informants generally seemed to find satisfaction in working with the other teachers. One said that

interacting with teachers overseas is satisfying because they are interesting people. In general the staffs at these schools are good. I think there is a lot of dead wood in the United States, where [when] teachers couldn't change they just let things happen.

Another informant said, in regard to his math teaching in an Asian school, that the work was

a team effort between English, science, [and the other departments]. . . . The teachers had a very positive attitude toward education and it carried over from one class to another. I knew the kids would get the same quality of education in another class that I gave in mine.

The following comment from a teacher who has taught in four schools on three continents illustrates the point further.

In the U.S. I did absolutely nothing with other teachers.
The parking lot was empty at 3:05, and I never saw
teachers outside school. Extracurriculars were assigned
for points, and you had to get so many points; it was a
chore. My limited experience overseas is that the staff
is much more caring about the school, the students, and
other teachers than they were in my experience with
schools in the United States.

Of all the human resources associated with teaching in the
international schools, the most commonly cited were the students
themselves. The international mix and the generally positive attitude
they exhibited toward their education were often identified as the
most positive elements associated with overseas teaching.

The Students

In virtually every interview the informants described ways in
which the students in the American/International schools were an
improvement over what they had experienced in the United States. The
best way to illustrate these attitudes is through the following
comments from teachers, whose work experience included postings around
the world.

I don't want to teach in the United States any more. The
student population here [overseas] is more academically
oriented. I think the international students set the tone
and the American students follow along. Also, the way the
international students treat the teachers; I think teachers
in the United States have lost a lot [in regard to] respect
from parents, respect by students, and expectations from
the administration. I think that is different overseas [and]
I don't know if I could handle that in the U.S. now.

The private-school nature of the schools, the entrance
selectivity, and the background of the parents are all
factors in determining the commitment that overseas students

generally have toward school. The parents are often upwardly mobile. The Asian kids especially give a high priority to education.

Back home the kids are not motivated; they don't care to be motivated. They are often seat warmers. Our worst discipline problem overseas would be an average kid back home.

The kids are pretty enthusiastic. Maybe that is true in the U.S. too, but here I think school is more of a focus for the kids. School is positive for them. Most of the kids want to succeed, to get the most out of school. They don't look at it as "yuck." They don't stay home or miss school.

It affects you positively, because you feel you are teaching kids who are tuned into what you are doing. It makes you really want to do your best.

These and many other comments like them indicated that, in comparison to students in the United States, the informants perceived the typical overseas student to be more motivated, more interested in learning, more involved in school, and less of a discipline problem. This situation was most commonly attributed to the attitudes students developed at home, as were instances which would be exceptions to the rule. One teacher stated, "the overseas kids are more motivated, and it can be traced to their home life. The few that don't have the same background don't fit in well. They stick out like a sore thumb." This reference, and others like it, were generally made in regard to students from American families in which the parents did not share the advanced educational background common to most of the expatriate population.

In addition to commenting on the motivation and positive attitudes the students generally exhibited toward education, the

informants usually identified the international mix of students as a positive aspect of teaching in American/International schools. This international mix seemed to be satisfying for two reasons. One, it provided an extra resource in their teaching. Two, it often resulted in more positive and supportive relations with the students and their families.

> I have no desire to go to a school that is predominantly American ever again. The mix of international students brings tolerance and a variety of values together.

> The international background of the kids overseas makes them special. They don't know how special they are.

> The variety of opinions and cultures reflected in the school is part of overseas life, and promotes an open approach to the discussion of topics that might be more guarded in the United States.

> I remember an incident in [an overseas school] in which it started to dawn on me that this was really a neat teaching situation. I was teaching a senior civics class about the "isms." We had a Yugoslavian who was essentially a communist, a Scandinavian with a progressive socialist background, a couple of Mormon missionaries . . . you could just sort of see their eyes open as they realized that their perspective was not the only way to look at things. It was satisfying because, where else could you get the kind of diversity we had every day?

> I like to see the distribution of nationalities. Some are more motivated than others; the Koreans are incredible. You know that what you are teaching is getting through. The way their families approach you; they want you to come over and have a meal. With those kids it is a privileged to go to school.

In regard to the differences among nationalities, another informant summarized two perceptions which were common to many of the

informants who had worked in different parts of the world. He spoke
for many in saying that he thought the Asian students were especially
gratifying to have in class because they were "educationally minded;
they wanted educational excellence." He also stated, "with the Latin
Americans it was not so much excellence; it was a matter of
prestige--the prestige of going to an American school."

Several informants reported that when they moved from a school
with a nationally diversified student body to one that was primarily
American, they felt a loss. This was also true in instances where
they moved from a school with host-country representation to one that
did not have those students.

> In [one overseas post] we had contact with the local
> culture through the parents. Here we have no [host
> country] students and the culture is more closed. Having
> host country students puts the kids on an equal basis
> with the locals. [Otherwise] you have a situation where
> the students only see the host country people as
> custodians in the school, as servants in their houses,
> or as street vendors. It creates a warped perception.

The Demands of the Work

When asked to identify the major differences between teaching in
the United States and teaching in American/International school, the
informants most often commented either on the students or on the
amount of time they were associated with school. In all cases,
informants reported that while abroad, they put at least as much time
into school activities as when in the United States. Most reported
putting in a greater amount of time.

Given the previous descriptions of the overseas communities, some of the reasons for this increased time at school are obvious. The schools were often described as a major part of the teacher's life, not just a job. Many of the American/International schools were described as social and recreational centers which drew teachers on weekends and during other periods. The teachers often reported living close to the schools. For those informants with families, recreational activities for their children often involved them further in school-sponsored activities. In all of these situations, contacts between teacher and school were increased.

There also seem to be other reasons for this increased amount of school-related time which are tied to the students and the work itself. One teacher described her situation as follows:

> The number of hours spent at school overseas can be a negative in comparison to the United States, but you want to put in more time overseas. I think, as human beings, when you are dealing in the classroom with a group of students who are eager and moving ahead, you move with them. You want to! You get excited about it, and the excitement and enthusiasm carries you on; and you put in more time. Then you add on the [extracurricular] activities.

Another teacher said the following in regard to the time she spent at school:

> I don't think you are really aware of it until it happens. We became aware over time that our weekends were being occupied by school. It was satisfying because we didn't feel we had to be home. Now we have kids [and it is different].

the interviews. Because the students were motivated, teachers felt good about putting in the extra time to see them progress. Teachers were often called upon, and felt obligated, to become involved in extracurricular activities, thus devoting more time to school-related affairs. The time devoted to the school was often perceived as an unconscious adjustment; it was a product of the expectations or norms of the school community. This extra time could be rewarding, but when it conflicted with other interests or responsibilities, it became a negative.

The most commonly cited conflicts involved family. Many teachers stated that when they first went abroad, without children, they put exceptional amounts of time into school activities. Those with small children felt guilt at being at school too much, as did those whose duties infringed upon time they could otherwise spend with a spouse who might not be equally involved in activities. As children grew older, the conflict resolved itself somewhat. The children were often involved in the same activities at school, or busy at school with their own activities, giving the parents more time to spend on other school-related duties.

Unmarried teachers generally described their work as central to their life, to an even greater degree than did those who were married. One teacher stated that he spent most of his time at school and, "my time there <u>has</u> to be satisfying. I need to feel busy, useful, and

have a sense of affecting peoples' lives. [Unlike the U.S.] no one is on my back sending memos all the time about who knows what."

A related conflict involved the fatigue caused by spending so much time on the job or on job-related activities. Several teachers noted that the degree to which they were involved in the school varied greatly with the type of school. In small, remote schools, which doubled as the social and recreational center of the community, tremendous job satisfaction was expressed, but at the cost of emotional and physical fatigue. One couple stated that they had consciously tried to alternate their choice of schools from those in small communities, such as described above, to schools in more cosmopolitan settings which offered a better chance to separate the job and their life outside work.

Several aspects of overseas living were described as positives with regard to work load. As indicated earlier, domestic help provided child care and free time which could be devoted to either family or work. The small class sizes usually found in these American/International schools were stated to allow informants to deal with students' needs more effectively.

The variety of duties demanded by these positions was also considered positive. Not only did informants generally find themselves teaching and involved in extra-curricular activities to a greater extent than they had been in the United States, but the

teaching assignments were often described as more varied. Three informants described teaching all the high school science classes in their respective 9-12 schools. Others described teaching assignments which included four or five separate preparations or grade levels. Because of staffing limitations, informants often reported they had been asked to teach courses for which they had limited preparation or virtually no background at all.

With few exceptions, these extra assignments were seen as positive. The positive feelings were generally described as the result of being given an opportunity to try new things. This corresponds to the special opportunities of the living situation described in the previous section and, as a source of satisfaction, is consistent with the type profile for the majority of the informants as measured on the MBTI.

Illustrative of the comments on this subject are those of one informant who stated that in two of his three overseas locations he found that the informality of the school allowed him to develop his special interests. In one school, he felt there was a need for a study-skills course for upper grade students and the administration let him develop and teach this course while reducing his regular music assignment. In a second school, he expressed an interest in computers and was allowed to develop an elementary computer literacy program which became part of his teaching assignment. This teacher made the

observation that similar freedoms would have been difficult in his third school because of the size and complexity of the administration. He stated, "when there are too many administrators, they look for ways to justify their existence, and teachers' decision-making power is limited." This informant and many others indicated that the freedom to innovate and make decisions was a satisfying experience found in many of the overseas schools.

Several informants commented on the satisfying ease with which overseas schools, especially the small ones, were able to act on and take advantage of the talents and interests which teachers brought to those schools. In several cases, informants described their experiences in the larger, more bureaucratic overseas schools as negative with regard to this type of freedom. A complaint heard from several teachers was that these schools were too much like schools in the United States.

Organizational Norms in the Overseas Schools

In describing the organizational characteristics of the overseas schools, the informants concentrated their remarks on two areas: the relations they had with authority in the schools (administration and boards) and the degree of teacher participation that was common at the operational level of the schools. In both areas they identified significant differences between their overseas experiences and what they remembered or perceived to be the case in American public education.

Teacher Interaction With Board and Administration

In comparing their relations with board members in the overseas schools to the relations they had experienced with boards in the United States, the informants identified a decrease in the degree of formality as the major difference. One teacher said, "relations in the United States between board and teachers is more of a union thing. Here it's more informal. I know several board members personally."

In an earlier section, it was noted that informants described meeting board members on holiday, playing tennis with them, and seeing them on a social basis. Many informants suggested that the social barriers which would have mitigated this type of contact in the United States were less prevalent abroad and virtually absent in the more remote expatriate communities.

There was consensus among the informants that this informality and increased contact was a positive aspect of work in American/International schools. It was perceived to enhance the quality of feedback teachers could provide regarding the operation of the schools. It provided some of the satisfaction described with regard to meeting special people.

The informants also suggested that it increased the effectiveness of board operations. One teacher said, "I think the boards overseas listen to what teachers have to say. Boards have a big stake in the educational process, and a lot more involvement than in the United

States. They are concerned about teacher morale and want to keep the best teachers." Similar sentiments were expressed by many informants. In the majority of such comments, teachers described how they had greater access to board members overseas and were therefore able to provide them with important feedback on an informal basis. This was perceived to result in school improvement.

In a few cases, informants compared the open communication patterns described above to less positive situations which they had encountered in one of their overseas assignments. One informant described his dissatisfaction at having an overseas board "jump into new programs without balancing existing programs" and "making educational decisions without consulting the teachers." In another situation, an informant described an administrative directive which stated that direct contact with the board was unprofessional.

> We were told by the superintendent that we should have
> no contact with the board. If so, there would be trouble.
> The board had to make decisions about the day-to-day
> operations of the school, but they got no feedback from
> the teachers who were most closely involved with those
> operations. They only received it from the superintendent.
> It was not a healthy atmosphere for the school.

Judging from the above comments, the satisfaction found by informants with regard to board relationships in many overseas schools would seem to be strongly associated with the openness of the communication between those two groups. When teachers were able to communicate directly with board members, they expressed satisfaction

in being able to contribute to school improvement. They also felt
that they were part of a productive enterprise. In situations where
the communication between board and teachers was perceived to be more
formal and more controlled, dissatisfaction was expressed. Both of
the schools identified as being dissatisfying in this regard were
large, wealthy organizations with several layers of bureaucracy.

This tendency toward informality and open communication patterns
with boards, found by informants in most of the overseas schools,
seemed to carry over to relations between teachers and administrators.
One teacher, who had worked in two overseas schools of between 400 and
600 students, summarized the perceptions of many others in saying:

> I think there is a much closer relationship between
> teachers and administrators overseas than there is in
> the United States. There aren't the fences . . . I think
> that teachers overseas are much more willing to go in and
> talk to administrators about things that are good and
> things they would like to see changes. You don't feel
> they will hold something over you if you make suggestions.
> You can disagree or you can agree, and that is a really
> positive thing. In the States, it is maybe not all the
> administrators' fault, but it is still [a problem]. I
> guess it is because you get to know the person overseas.
> Half of communicating is getting to know somebody.

This passage identifies several conditions common to many
overseas schools which seem to enhance the working relationship
between teachers and administrators. First and foremost, the
relationship is often informal and is often personal. Another
informant expressed it as "here I don't necessarily see them as
administrators, whereas in the U.S. it was more a feeling of them as

boss." Secondly, the nature of many overseas communities seems to break down many of the social barriers that might stand in the way of this type of relationship in the United States. Thirdly, this type of relationship allows the teacher to give honest feedback without feeling threatened.

Teacher Participation in Decision Making

The feedback or input described above was identified as an important source of job satisfaction by many informants. They perceived that the informality and close social relations common to most overseas schools increased their chances to take part in decisions which affected the school. A somewhat extreme example is the following comment about an overseas boarding school.

> In the United States the principal seemed to have more control over what he or she would let the teachers do. In [my school] the teachers had a large say in everything that went on, because they had to do it. We would have long faculty meetings; the teachers would hash out things about day-to-day living, about the running of the school, about the curriculum, about whatever needed to be discussed. It got frustrating sometimes because it went on so long, but you really had a sense of being part of the decisions that were being made. Because of that, [you felt] you had to live with them.

These comments are not that atypical of what many informants described. The following comments shed more light on the nature of teacher participation in many of these schools.

> Overseas you have more input into the school program, into professional decisions. In smaller schools the department or grade level may be only one person, so you have even more control.

Teachers have a lot more input into how things should be
done. It is group decision making. My recollection of
teaching [in the United States] was that I was not involved
in the process; everything came down from above. Overseas
you are involved in the making of the school, the making
of the curriculum. No one can take credit for a faulty
curriculum but you. We are certainly accountable.

One thing I like about overseas schools is that I feel in
control, in control of the job. I have some say in what
goes on in the school. I feel I can stand at the mailbox
and ask the superintendent about anything that is going
on in the school. In the U.S., I think that even if we
were in the same building, I would have to make an
appointment. I would feel intimidated, feel that [to
contact the superintendent] I would have to have something
of great consequence. That [informality] is a good thing.

Overseas you feel more appreciated. In the general day-
to-day life, you see the superintendent regularly where
in the U.S. he would not even be in the building.
Closeness in your working situation makes for feelings of
appreciation. Because [the administration] know what is
going on, there is a closer working group; you get more
feedback.

Many of the informants described the added input they seemed to

be able to exert in the overseas schools as a satisfier. Even more

common in regard to satisfaction were comments which described

satisfaction in the freedom and autonomy that the informality in the

overseas school seemed to promote. The following comments from

several of the many teachers who remarked on this aspect of their

work, illustrated how this facet of overseas teaching contributed to

their satisfaction.

I like international school work most because it gives
me the opportunity to individualize. You have more
freedom to teach the way you want. In the United States,
when you go into a school and people have been there for

30 years, they want you to do what they are doing. Overseas, they hire you and say "you are a professional, now what is your style?" All three schools [in which I have taught] overseas have had that flavor about them.

There was a great deal of freedom in the teaching situation. We were able to order our own texts and then organize the curriculum to the needs of the students and the needs of our particular background and philosophy. That made it possible to try a lot of things. It made it an exciting place for both students and teachers.

There is sort of a trust bond. I don't have to justify myself every time I do something. There is an understanding that I am competent.

I have much more autonomy here than I ever would in the United States. I don't see how anyone who enjoys what he does, who has ideas, who wants to create things for kids, can deal with a situation where he can not make decisions and have the authority, as well as the responsibility, for what occurs in his program.

Informants who were used to this type of freedom and then had it taken away, often described considerable dissatisfaction.

When you have a staff of 10 people, you do a million things and you end up doing them on the weekends. It is the only way you can get the job done. In [one school] we got a new headmaster who wanted very tight control. I couldn't work that way, so I left.

The atmosphere in a school kind of comes from the tone set by the administration, what they will allow you to do. Will they trust you to make decisions? What trust and dignity will they give you as a professional? Do they feel that you are capable and trust you to do the job you were hired to do? [We had a situation] in [a school] where the administration decided we should teach [using a certain method]. The control exerted by the administration got to be unreasonable, and the staff revolted. They became angry and upset with the consultant [who was hired to implement the program]. If the administration had approached it as "we want you to think about this teaching strategy and we hope you will implement it, but we would not have hired you unless we thought you were competent," it would have gone down much better. They exceeded what was reasonable.

Expressions of dissatisfaction with changes, such as the two described above, were even more common for teachers who had moved from schools having a high degree of openness, informality, and teacher autonomy to more structured and usually larger institutions. Informants characterized several of the latter type of schools as wealthy and staffed with a variety of support personnel. In these institutions, informants perceived that their role, their freedom to innovate, and their autonomy were restricted by the size of the institutions and by the many levels of bureaucracy. In many of these cases, informants made comments such as "the administration was always looking over my shoulder." Several compared it to the negative aspects of teaching in the United States. One equated her situation to "working in a factory."

Based on the descriptions the informants gave with regard to the relations they had with organizational authority and the degree to which they participated in school affairs, several further generalizations about the nature of overseas teaching for these individuals seem tenable. First, the organization of the schools seemed to be characterized by less formality and social distance with regard to the teachers' interactions with board and administration. The consensus among the informants was that this was due to the social patterns described earlier and that this was a positive aspect of overseas teaching.

Second, the informality and openness common to most of the overseas schools described by the informants, especially to the smaller, more remote ones, enabled the teachers to involve themselves in school affairs to a greater degree than would have been possible in the United States. Many words were used to describe this involvement: freedom, autonomy, input, access, support, trust, and control. From each of these qualities, informants seemed to derive increased satisfaction from their work.

Third, the informants identified differences in the overseas schools which could affect the relative satisfaction of teachers as they moved from one overseas school to another. Of primary concern to the informants was the degree of autonomy or freedom they found in their work. Several commented that when they moved to a larger and more rigidly organized school and their roles became more narrowly defined, significant amounts of autonomy and consequent job satisfaction were lost.

A fourth conclusion which can be drawn relates to the qualities of an administrator which contribute to teacher job satisfaction. The comments of the informants indicated that they appreciated administrators who were accessible and open to teacher input. One teacher described good administrators as those who listened, even though they did not necessarily act upon what they heard. Many of the informants described good administrators as being very visible. This

was consistent with the commonly expressed attitude that congenial social relations among staff members were conducive to job satisfaction. The discussion seemed to support the conclusion that an administrator must also be willing to support teacher autonomy. This was usually expressed by informants as "trust." An attitude among the informants that was often equated with satisfaction was summarized by a teacher who stated, "we were made to feel that whatever we did on the job was right. They had hired us to do the job because they thought we were competent."

Although the questions which prompted the comments reviewed in this and the previous section were directed toward concrete, organizational aspects of the overseas work, the comments they produced generally emphasized nonmaterial aspects of the job. These comments indicated that, as in the earlier discussion of the nature of the work itself, the aspects of the job most important to the informants, with regard to job satisfaction, were social and not material. Furthermore, the comments seemed to indicate that the overseas teaching environment generally provided informants with greater opportunities to find satisfaction in these social interactions than they had been able to find teaching in the United States. The next section focuses on the nature of social relations and expands upon this part of the overseas teachers' work experience.

Organizational Climate

In many ways the previous discussion is also a discussion of "climate," for as noted above, it deals to a significant degree with the social relationships found in certain parts of the work. In the following discussion, those relationships are examined in more detail and attitudes common to many of the informants are identified to provide a more complete picture of the work environment of the American/International schools.

In describing their work environments, the informants focused on three topics which can be included under the heading of climate: the quality of the social relations in the work environment, the expectations which pervaded the work, and the influences which transience and constant change had on the work. The discussion in this section of the chapter is presented under those headings.

The Quality of Interpersonal Relations

As evidenced by previous discussion, the quality of social interaction found by the informants in their overseas teaching received considerable attention from them as a determinant of job satisfaction. In fact, this facet of the work experience received more attention from the informants than any other.

The discussion in this section indicates that the level of work-related social interaction for the overseas schools described in this study was considerably higher than what the informants had experienced

in the United States. This was true for all groups found in the work environment of the overseas school: students, parents, and colleagues. The following are detailed descriptions of the informants' interactions with each of those groups, excluding the interactions with superiors, which have already been described.

Relations with students

The relations which the informants experienced with their students in the overseas schools were invariably described as closer or more personal than those they had experienced in public schools within the United States. The following comments illustrate this depth and identify some of the reasons for why the informants thought it existed:

> The biggest difference between here and home is the kids. It is how much closer I can get to them and how much more of an influence I can have on their lives. You get to see the kids in different settings. What it is basically, is that you get a much more keen sense of community.

> Teacher-student relationships in the international schools I have been in are more than just a classroom experience. They have gone on to the field after school; they have go on the (other activities). They have gone on to taking trips with the students; to having social occasions with them, such as spending the day with them at the beach. You get to know students as very special individuals and they get to know you the same way.

> The students see the teacher as a human being, and they are people to you. We have had several visits to our school by educators from other countries. They all comment on the close relationship between students and teachers. I know my students here much better than I did students in the United States. I see and talk to them outside of class, in the hallways and in extracurricular activities. Because

we have no children of our own we see them less in the
expatriate community than we would otherwise, but when we
meet we are still happy to see each other.

In smaller schools you have very close relationships with
students. It is like one big family. They come to depend
on you. In [my former school] the school was a community
center so I had more contact with students and parents
[than I do now]. We lived right on campus, and I knew
every kid by name.

Almost every one of the informants described similar experiences
in each of the overseas schools in which he or she had worked. The
degree of closeness between student and teacher was perceived to be
greatest in those schools which were relatively small and which served
as community centers. The informants associated several rewards with
this closeness.

Illustrative of one commonly expressed sentiment in this regard
was the comment that "you understand your students better because you
know them personally. It helps in teaching." Another teacher
said, "overseas I can really see the results of my efforts. I get
more feedback because the classes are small and I know the kids." A
slightly different reward was reflected in the words of an informant
who said that "my rewards were that they enjoyed what I had
to offer. I wasn't teaching kids who were going through the motions.
I was the show. It underscored the importance of what I was doing."

Several informants indicated that close student-teacher
involvement increased their own commitment to the program. One
informant described his feelings on this by saying, "It's hard to be
neutral about teaching when you know the family. It makes you want to
do more."

Given these descriptions, several more generalizations seem reasonable in comparison to what the informants perceived were the norms in U.S. public schools. Primarily, they felt that student-teacher relationships were closer and more personal overseas. This was perceived to be due to several unique characteristics of overseas school communities. The social patterns in the school were often an extension of community social patterns. Teachers regularly interacted with students outside the classroom, thus establishing more than just a professional relationship. As with the social life outside school, barriers which might have stood in the way of these relations in the United States were less prevalent.

This personal quality of teacher-student interaction was perceived by the informants to have several positive effects. By knowing the students better outside class, teachers perceived that they were better able to meet student needs in class. The personal relationships were perceived to improve student attitudes toward the school and the teacher. The quality of the relationships were perceived to enhance the quality of student feedback and to increase the teachers' feelings of recognition and achievement. The relationships were also perceived to enhance commitment to the work.

Relations with parents

Teacher-parent relationships in the overseas schools were also perceived by the informants to be closer than in the United States.

Several informants stated that they could not remember meeting parents
in the United States except for conferences and professional reasons.
As indicated in previous sections of the report, this was seldom the
case overseas. Virtually every informant commented on the positive
interaction he or she had experienced with parents overseas and on
the improvement this represented over what was remembered from
teaching experiences in the United States. The following comments are
illustrative of many others:

> One of the positives of teaching overseas is the super
> relations you have with parents. They are supportive
> and think we do a super job. The typical comments we
> receive are positive and appreciative. We see quite a
> bit of parents socially; but that is hard in the sense
> that so much of your life is already involved with
> school.

> In the United States I never had any parent friendships.
> Parents would meet you and say hello, but never more
> than that. In [one school] we were invited to homes.
> A leading local businessman threw a good-bye party in
> our honor.

> In the United States you generally are not living in the
> community in which you teach. Your social life is
> defined more by your neighborhood as opposed to your
> work.

> Parents in the U.S. are much more on the defensive.
> When a problem is mentioned, the parents try to ignore
> it. Overseas it is like you are the teacher and you
> know what you are doing. You give ideas on how you can
> work out the problem together, and if someone else is
> needed, you call them in. We don't see the parents too
> much socially, but we could and some teachers do.

Several of the ideas expressed in these comments were prevalent
throughout the interviews and seemed to be important to the teachers

in terms of their job satisfaction. The primary observation was that contacts between teachers and parents were both more frequent and more congenial in overseas schools. Informants indicated that they derived feelings of recognition from these contacts. There was some consensus that the cooperation which seemed to arise from the closeness of the parent-teacher interaction was beneficial to the progress of the students. The feeling that the parents overseas perceived the teacher to know what he or she was doing was expressed by many teachers. This was often equated with a perception that overseas parents were more apt to see these teachers as professionals.

The degree of the social closeness with and support from parents, which was described above, was not attributed to every overseas situation. It was perceived by the informants to vary considerably with the size and sophistication of the school environment and with cultural and national influences. Several informants described the differences in this aspect of overseas teaching they encountered when moving from small, remote, expatriate communities to larger schools in more cosmopolitan environments. In the latter situation the expressed degree of parent-teacher interaction generally decreased as did the perceived level of parental support for the schools. In regard to the influences of culture and nationality, the following statements are representative:

> I saw parents socially in Kabul [Afghanistan], but less
> so in Peru, at least until I had been there for a while.

The Peruvians have to trust you first. In [one European school] I never saw parents. In [another European school] I see them more often. It depends on the national make-up of the school.

The Eastern European parents in Lybia made you feel like you had given their child the greatest gift they could ever have—a quality education. It brought home things we take for granted in the United States. It gave you respect. The same was true for the Japanese, the Koreans and other Asians. The hardest to get along with were the Americans.

Another difference [between teaching in the U.S. and teaching overseas] was the attitude the parents, especially those in the foreign community, had toward the teachers of their children. First of all education is very important to them. they are very interested and supportive of the school and the teachers. They see you as being very professional and are supportive and respectful. They want to encourage you to do the best job you can with their children. That is a different attitude than what you find among American parents, even those who are overseas.

These and other comments seem to support several further generalizations with regard to the informants' perceptions about teaching both in the United States in comparison to overseas. The comments indicate that many of the teachers thought that certain non-American nationalities gave greater emphasis to the importance of education and therefore to teachers than did Americans. They indicate that the degree of parental support and interest in the overseas schools was greatest in small, remote communities with significant representations of Asian and European clientele. They indicate that the informants perceived the level of parental support to be lessened in larger, more cosmopolitan communities, in communities which were primarily American, and in schools in Latin American cultures.

These generalizations are consistent with previous discussion. The degree of sophistication in a community has been described as decreasing the focus of the school as a community center and decreasing the consequent interaction among members of the school community. The South American schools described in the study were generally located in large cosmopolitan centers, and there have been several references to the fact that the Latin American cultures were perceived to place less emphasis on academic excellence than did others. It seems ironic that many of the informants perceived that the American parents were less supportive than other nationalities, since many of the friendships, which were described to arise overseas, were with other Americans who were overseas in capacities other than teaching. However, as mentioned earlier, the negative relations with American parents were attributed mostly to a certain faction within the greater American expatriate community. Furthermore, most of the comparisons to negative parental relations were made in regard to teaching experiences in the United States.

Even with the exceptions described here, there was a consensus that the overall quality of parent support and teacher-parent relations in the American/International schools surpassed what was to be found in U.S. public education. Several rewards were associated with this phenomenon. Many teachers expressed satisfaction with the increased recognition represented by this contract. Others expressed

pleasure with the friendships and harmonious working relationships that these contacts generated. Some teachers suggested that by getting to know parents on a more informal basis, they were able to more effectively teach the children. Many stated that the trust and support from the parents made them feel more "professional."

Relations with colleagues

Several characteristic aspects of the collegial relations within the American/International schools were described in the discussion of the role of administrators in these schools. The informants' descriptions of their interaction with their teaching colleagues parallels this discussion.

Most informants stated that their relations with other teachers extended beyond the school to a greater degree than would be usual in the United States. A typical comparison was made by one informant who stated, "in the U.S. your circle of friends would not necessarily be teachers. Here you are closer with the other teachers. When you leave school in the United States you are more likely to get away from the job."

This comment illustrates two commonly reported sentiments. First, relations with other teachers in the overseas teaching environment were often personal as well as professional. Second, in overseas teaching, the influences of the job often pervaded all parts of the teacher's life.

The reasons given for why these personal relations between teachers were so prevalent overseas were varied. Some informants emphasized their common interests or orientation with other teachers; as did one who said that he associated with his fellow teachers because he found they had many of the same interests he did and that was why both were overseas. Several informants suggested that the proximity of their housing to school and to that of other teachers was a source of this comradery. Several referred to common professional needs. In regard to this last reason, one said, "it is right to know your colleagues informally, off the job. In these schools we need help. We have to depend on each other. Because of this we work together and do a better job."

This sort of professional/personal relationship was even reported to exist between teachers in separate overseas schools. The following is from a teacher who has worked in schools in south and western Asia:

> On sports trips we stayed in the houses of colleagues
> from the host school. We got to know them. In the
> United States you say hello, you play the match, and
> you have a perfunctory handshake as you leave. Overseas
> you get to know the people involved at a level other
> than just competition. It might be the only time during
> the course of the year that you would meet with someone
> who had the same professional experiences as you. It
> might represent your only professional contact for
> several hundred miles. These contacts often expanded
> into friendships.

Because of the common experiences, the common needs, the constant proximity both in and out of school, and the sometimes limited access

to persons not acquainted with the school, many informants reported
that other teachers often became their best friends. The frequency
with which this happened was reported to depend significantly on the
environment within which the school functioned.

> Most of our friends here are from the school. It is such
> a huge staff that this is natural. It is less true in
> smaller schools. In [one school] the local club was the
> social center. Here, the [host country] population is
> harder to get to know.

Other teachers perceived that the smaller schools, when they were
in more remote areas, also tended to bring the staff together. They
said that the school became a focal point for the community, and that
this involved them with other teachers to a greater extent than it
would have if more time were spent away from school.

Several informants reported that their closest friendships were
made with colleagues whose arrival at the school coincided with their
own. This was perceived to be because they had gone through the
adjustment period together, sharing concerns and discoveries.
Typically these informants reported that, as they became adjusted to
their new environment, they tried to widen their circle of
acquaintances beyond the school.

On occasion, the personal nature of the relationships with
colleagues was perceived to be a burden. Despite the positive effects
described in terms of increased "espirit de corps" and "comradery,"
the situation also could result in a loss of privacy. "Most of our

friends here are teachers, but we have our own interests. In [my former school] we had comradery to ad nauseum, because we were packed together. You had to lock your doors and pull the curtains for privacy."

Behavioral Norms and Expectations

A great deal of homogeneity was earlier suggested to exist within the clientele of the American/International schools, even though that clientele differed greatly in terms of national and ethnic background. This homogeneity was found primarily in the expectations shared by members of the school community: teachers, students, parents, and administrators. Informants suggested that these shared expectations had some influence on the satisfaction they were able to derive from their work.

The most prevalent comments in this regard concerned the parental expectations for their children. As noted in several parts of this dissertation, the parents were generally well educated, and were probably overseas in good jobs because of some expertise gained through education. They therefore were perceived to value education and to have high academic expectations for their children.

Many of the informants compared these situations to less satisfying ones in the United States. One said of her experience in rural Wisconsin that "the parents often do not have the same expectations for their kids, the same priorities that parents do

overseas." In comparing his U.S. experience another said, "the major goal in these schools is to learn, not to drop out." Although these may be extreme examples, they serve to illustrate what informants saw as a basic difference between the two situations. The overseas parents were generally perceived to be much more interested in their children's education and consequently were perceived to be more supportive of the schools.

Many of the perceived products of these high parental expectations have already been described. On the positive side, teachers expressed pleasure at seeing the parents take an active interest in the children's education because it often provided them with extra resources and assured support at home for work assigned in school. The informants often equated this support with a degree of recognition and professionalism.

A few negative products of the high level of parental interest were also identified. Some were identified in reference to parental expectations which were excessive in relation to the child's capabilities, thus placing unrealistic demands on teacher and student. Others reflected teachers' annoyances with parents who became involved in the educational process to the degree that they threatened the teacher's control of the curriculum.

In the majority of instances, however, the high levels of educational aspiration were perceived to have the same positive values

that were earlier attributed to the selective nature of the students. Of primary import to the teachers was that the aspirations of the parents had significant carry-over value to the students' attitudes toward school. As a result of the attitudes of their parents, students were perceived to be more interested, more motivated, more enthusiastic, and more cooperative. This was perceived to make the teacher's job both more enjoyable and more productive.

Many informants stated that the high level of parental and student expectations positively influenced their own attitudes and commitment to the job. Several comments have already been presented to indicate that seeing the students so enthusiastic made the teachers want to spend more time on doing their best.

The high level of expectations the students had for themselves was perceived by the informants to influence school climate in other positive ways. Its main contribution was to set behavioral standards for the school. These standards seemed to perpetuate themselves even with student turnover.

> If a new kid came into the school in [my former overseas school] and caused a problem, he was not admired by the other students. He was pressured by them to conform to norms. We recently had a student here in [my present overseas school] that arrived directly from Houston. He came in as a problem, but he has done an about-face. It was the result of peer pressure and personal attention from the teachers and administration.

Throughout the interviews there were descriptions of similar incidents. The informants' perceptions were that the high

expectations set by most students, teachers, and parents established norms, which in turn dictated behavior. These norms were generally conducive to the orderly operation of the schools and were therefore a source of satisfaction.

The informants suggested that the positive norms found in overseas schools were more prevalent overseas than in United States' schools. These norms were perceived to be a product of the attitudes and expectations of the people with whom the informants were working and the personal nature of the relations with those people. The degree to which positive norms were present in a given community seemed to depend on the same variables which were mentioned by the informants in regard to the level of social interaction in the work environment of these schools. Most influential was the role the school played in the community. The more the school served as the focal point of community activities, the greater was the expressed commitment for all concerned parties. In many cases informants referred to this as a school or community "comradery."

The Effects of Transience

Another property described as common to many overseas schools was the transient nature of students and teachers. Informants suggested that this too had some effect on their job attitudes.

Some aspects of this phenomenon have been described. The transience lent an urgency to social relations. It created hardships

when informants and their family members were forced to sever
friendships. It also was described to have effects on the job itself.

Several informants mentioned that the constant change in staffing
created vacancies and allowed them to try new things. As indicated by
the type profile of these teachers, these opportunities could be
considered as a positive element in themselves.

Many of the informants suggested that a certain amount of time in
one place or one job was enough. One said, "like anything you can
become a little stale. If you stay you need to change jobs. That is
one advantage of these schools; if they find you are competent, they
will let you try new things." Another informant stated, "we have not
been unhappy when we left places, it was just time to go on to
something new."

These comments illustrate two ideas commonly expressed by the
informants. Many felt that to be in a place too long undermined the
teacher's effectiveness on the job. They also felt that a change in
assignment or location would increase enthusiasm and efficacy.

There was considerable consensus on the ideal amount of time a
teacher should stay in one school.

> We left because it was a bit staggering after five years.
> It's time to go on when it becomes harder to get yourself
> motivated on a day-to-day basis. I could have left after
> four years; that was just right. Here the job is so
> different. There is no routine, so I don't get bored.

> We have always said until now that four to five years in
> a location was perfect. It takes one year to settle in;

and your last year you are winding down. Then you need a change, either a move or a change in jobs. I suppose the right amount of time varies with people. To stay here longer, I will have to build changes into my job.

The majority of the informants estimated that an ideal tenure was 4 to 5 years. However, moving after this amount of time seemed to get more difficult as the informants became older and as the choice of increasingly attractive new schools became more restricted. It would seem that the present concentration of these teachers in a few schools is not an accident. Informants generally described these schools as wealthy, providing good pay and good working conditions. Several informants said that they thought they would be more effective teachers if they moved on, but that it was difficult because they would probably lose a considerable amount of financial security if they did. Each school was described as independent, and moving meant sacrificing pay scale placement earned through seniority. This placement would generally not be recognized in another school. For older teachers with concerns about college tuitions for their children, this was a concern.

In such cases, transience seemed to create a dilemma. On one hand were feelings of increased professional efficacy and the rewards of new cultures to explore as a product of moving. On the other hand there were the material losses which moving would produce. In this situation informants perceived the transient nature of their jobs as more dissatisfying than satisfying.

One other effect of transience and change was mentioned in relation to the work situation and received enough attention to be

considered significant. Informants described several situations in which changes in the expatriate community caused major shifts in the schools themselves. Common examples of this were the changes in a school which occurred when the international presence in a country changed or decreased. In the former situation several informants described major shifts in the level of expectations and in the nature of their student body when oil companies went from an exploration operation to production and consequently the types of employees were changed. With regard to the second example, several informants described the withdrawal of significant numbers of American expatriates from their schools, resulting in an increased level of third country and/or host country nationals or in a drop in enrollment. Several informants stated that they felt the overseas schools were more often in a state of change and adaptation than were schools at home. Several stated that because of their independent nature, overseas schools could change more quickly, in negative or positive directions, than could public schools.

The Nature of Material Rewards for Overseas Teaching

In describing the working environment of the overseas schools, the writer, in previous sections of this chapter, has generally ignored the material rewards such as pay, fringe benefits, and opportunities for advancement that teaching in American overseas schools could offer. The informants perceptions of those

material rewards and ways in which the informants looked upon those rewards as advantages or disadvantages in comparison to the rewards available for teaching in the United States are discussed in the following section.

Salary and Fringe Benefits

The majority of the informants' comments regarding material benefits and deficiencies in the work resulted from questions about salary. Although salary and benefits did not receive as much attention from the informants as did the interpersonal aspects of the job, they were mentioned in most interviews. There was some consensus that salary and benefit packages were higher overseas than in the United States, but that conclusion must be qualified in relation to both the differences among individual overseas schools and in relation to the career stages at which some of the informants based their comparisons.

The perceptions of most informants are reflected in the following:

> Our pay is good. I don't think our standard of living would be as high in the United States. We have a good salary, health insurance, educational allowances, a break on taxes, and other benefits.

> On paper, the pay does not look so great, but the fringes: housing, retirement, overseas allowances, travel supplements, and bonuses, give us more discretionary income than we ever had in the United States. There is nothing I feel I can't afford to do.

> If I had spent [my last] 15 years in the United States as a teacher, by the time you add up all the benefits: travel, pay, housing allowances, . . . I'm sure I'm better off here.

Money is a major factor. We have savings here. We have a
financial plan. We taught five years in the States [before
going abroad], and saved about 400 dollars. We save at
least 10 times as much each year overseas, plus the quality
of our life is better. I have a friend who is a teacher in
the United States and her husband is now an administrator.
With both of them working they are not [as well of financially
as we are].

These comments identify many of the reasons why informants
perceived that their overseas positions were an improvement
financially over teaching positions in the United States. Informants
in a few schools described the base pay as significantly higher than
in the U.S. In most schools, the salaries were perceived to be
essentially equal to salaries in U.S. public schools or possibly a bit
less, but fringe benefits were perceived to erase those deficits.

Many such benefits were described. Housing was often provided or
rents subsidized. The same situation often existed with regard to
utilities and transportation costs. In many cases there were no host
country taxes to pay or a special host-country tax agreement. There
were major exclusions in the United States tax laws with regard to
income earned abroad. Informants described travel allowances for home
leave and holidays which allowed them inexpensive travel opportunities
which they felt could not be duplicated in the United States. In some
locations the cost of living was described as considerably less than
in the United States, allowing the informants a greater share of their
salary as disposable income.

However, the rewards described here were not universal. They varied from school to school, and there were negative financial situations described for certain locations. Problems were described when informants' salaries were paid in "soft" currencies. A typical example of this problem was offered by a teaching pair in comparing two different assignments. "A positive about [my former overseas school] was that we were paid in dollars. Here we are paid [in local currency] which went through a 17% devaluation last year." In such cases teachers reported that they could lose a significant percentage, in terms of dollars, of their anticipated yearly salary.

Another problem concerned the cost of living. One informant stated, "in [one overseas post] the pay was OK, but the cost of living was so high we couldn't save anything. Here the salary goes much further."

In some cases the cost of living even outstripped what had originally appeared to be an attractive salary.

> The financial situation . . . was a complete disaster; perhaps anywhere in the world would have been after [a previous overseas post]. There was an automatic retirement fund; they automatically deducted 20% of my salary. On one salary I could not pay my rent for a house that was the size of the living room I had had in [my previous location]. With two kids we needed a bigger house, and I could not afford the one I was in.

This last comment seems to identify several important points with regard to the teachers' perceptions of salary. First, the salary and benefits could vary dramatically from country to country and school

to school. Second, when the school did not provide housing and other amenities, the teachers were at the mercy of inflationary housing markets, which could severely restrict their disposable income. Third, living costs were more of a hardship for one-worker families. As noted, the interviewees in this study were primarily teaching pairs. The informant quoted above and one other were the only teachers interviewed who were single wage earners with children. For the teaching teams, finances were seldom referred to as a problem.

Related to the above is another qualification. Most of the teachers in the study had been abroad for several years. The U.S. experience on which many base their comparisons was experience as a beginning teacher. These teachers were well into their careers and high on the salary scales of their respective schools. Had they remained in the United States as teachers, their salary situation would undoubtedly have improved beyond the point at which the comparisons were made.

Furthermore, as noted earlier, the informants had gravitated toward certain overseas schools. Their comparisons of salaries in these schools to those in the other overseas schools in which they had worked indicated that their situation was generally an improvement over the previous schools. Their perceptions that the financial situation superior overseas compared to U.S. schools therefore seem less representative of overseas schools as a whole.

A further qualification concerns the quality of the teachers in this study. By definition they were all superior, and, as such, could be expected to command attractive jobs in the United States, as they seemed to have done overseas. This fact would also seem to limit the degree of disparity they perceived between the material rewards they received in their overseas jobs and what they perceived would have been their "lot" had they remained in U.S. public education.

Given these qualifications, the only conclusion that seems completely supportable, with regard to the financial benefits offered by overseas schools, is that for these individuals the financial rewards from their present overseas teaching assignments were generally an improvement over the situations they experienced in teaching assignments in the United States before going overseas.

Opportunities for Professional Advancement and Growth

A second class of material advantages and disadvantages, which the informants associated with overseas teaching, are discussed in this section. As with salaries and benefits, a variety of situations were described.

There was some concern expressed that teaching overseas limited the informants' access to resources for professional growth. A representative comment to this effect was that "I miss the quick-and-easy, up-to-date information on my field, and easy contact with professional sources. There is a time lag on information. It makes for extreme preplanning."

On the other hand, some teachers compared the situation favorably with the United States. Several singled out the Near East–South Asia regional organization for its contributions in this area.

Many overseas schools, especially the ones in which the informants were employed at the time of the interview, were reported to provide means to assist the teachers in their professional development. Informants reported taking courses offered on overseas campuses during the school year and during long holidays. They reported receiving supplements for summer study in these locations and in the United States. Informants also described access to educational consultants and workshops overseas. These were sponsored by the schools or jointly sponsored by the schools and regional organizations with assistance from the U.S. Department of State.

Courses, such as those described above, provided many of the informants with the coursework they needed for advancement on the pay scale or advancement to new jobs. With regard to the latter, several informants commented on the opportunity to find jobs with additional responsibility within the overseas schools. Representative of the attitudes on the subject was the following comment: "I think the opportunities for advancement overseas are the same as in the United States. You can go into guidance, into administration. You can take courses." In 11 of the 32 interviews, informants reported that they had moved from teaching to administrative or partially administrative positions during their overseas tenure.

Some informants stated that they thought the informality common
to many overseas schools provided an advantage in terms of
advancement. "I think the chances for advancement are greater
overseas. It is more dependent on performance. A good job can be
rewarded on the spot because there is less red tape." The consensus,
however, was that there was little difference between the two
environments with regard to this issue.

A related issue received considerable attention as a disadvantage
of overseas teaching. This concerned professional mobility; the
difficulty informants encountered when they tried to move from one
overseas school to another. Two disadvantages were described. First,
the isolation of many overseas schools made it difficult for the
informants to establish contact with other schools. Most of the
recruiting for overseas jobs was done within the United States, and
informants found the time and money involved in attending such
recruiting sessions prohibitive. Second, when such a move was made
it usually resulted in a placement drop on the pay scale of the new
school. The longer a teacher remained in one location the greater
were the financial sacrifices involved in a move. Several teachers
noted that this situation encouraged young teachers to move and
encouraged teachers with more experience to stay. Third, as already
mentioned, changes in environment were perceived by several teachers
to enhance both their personal satisfaction and professional efficacy.

Because the existing situation limited mobility these two potential

satisfiers were restricted.

One teaching pair gave considerable attention to this issue,

expanding on what has just been described:

> There aren't many dissatisfying elements in our overseas
> work, but this is one in particular. If we want to change
> jobs overseas, especially now that we are near the top of
> our profession, we will lose a great deal. Salary scales
> in these schools rarely give credit for more than six
> years experience. We would also probably suffer in terms
> of classes we could teach. I would miss the advanced
> classes.
>
> [In the United States], there seems to be no realization
> that there are over two million Americans working abroad
> for much of their careers. It is difficult to get car
> insurance at normal prices. It is difficult to get
> resident exemptions for our children to attend state
> universities. There is no recognition of our status as
> American professionals working abroad.

Such observations were infrequently made with regard to the work,

but they are consistent with many earlier comments made with regard to

loss of identity. They are consistent with informants' perceptions of

the typical American as unconcerned and ignorant about what is

happening outside the United States. They are another example of the

informants' concerns with regard to the transient nature of their

overseas existence. They seem to represent a negative trade-off for

the rewards associated with change.

Perceived Advantages and Deficiencies in the Work

An important observation needs to be made about the way

informants determined whether the elements of their work were pleasing

or displeasing. In each case, satisfaction was determined with relation to some other point of reference. Some of the comparisons were made to overseas schools. In most cases, relative satisfaction or dissatisfaction was expressed in relation to perceptions of, or experiences with, schools in the United States. Given these comparisons, the following generalizations about the material and nonmaterial advantages and disadvantages of overseas teaching seem tenable.

Material Advantages and Disadvantages

The most obvious material rewards of the job concern salary and fringe benefits. Informants indicated that in their overseas schools these rewards were generally equal to or superior to what they perceived to be the level of the same benefits for United States public schools. As such, salary and benefits were often described as a source of satisfaction.

Qualifications to this statement need to be made. The informants' perceptions of the United States were often based on their experience as beginning teachers, not as the experienced and successful teachers they were at the time of this study. These teachers had gravitated to certain overseas schools. They described the level of benefits for their present schools as more satisfactory than for schools in which they previously taught. Furthermore, the degree of satisfaction expressed by informants with regard to salary and benefits was often expressed as a function of current needs.

There was consensus that the overseas work provided the informants with serendipitous material advantages: travel, cultural exposure, household help, and social contacts. Informants perceived that these would not be typically found in a U.S. teaching environment, and these elements were therefore a source of satisfaction. The informants expressed degrees of personal growth derived from travel and cultural exposure. They found pleasure in the social contact itself and derived recognition from these contacts.

These descriptions must be qualified by the observation that negative trade-offs to these elements were also described. In return for the cultural exposure, informants suffered a lack of certain amenities and separation from home. Having household help could become an extra responsibility and an infringement of privacy.

Certain material satisfiers were found in the work itself. The nature of the students and parents contributed to measurable accomplishment. The small classes, generally described by informants, were perceived to do the same. The personal nature of teacher-client relationships enhanced feelings of recognition. These elements of the work were described to be satisfying to the degree that they were improvements over other situations.

The long hours generally associated with the work were described as either satisfying or dissatisfying to the degree that they controlled intrinsic feelings. The hours were satisfying when they

resulted in observable achievement by students. They were dissatisfying when they infringed upon family affiliation needs or on the freedom to make decisions about personal use of time.

The transient nature of the teacher's life was described as both satisfying and dissatisfying. It was satisfying when it led to positive change and opportunities to grow personally or professionally. It was satisfying in its effect on affiliation within the family. It was dissatisfying when it interrupted friendships. It was dissatisfying in that it represented a loss of ties with home and with personal identity.

Several generalizations can be made about the material rewards in the work and work environment of overseas teachers. These rewards were generally satisfying to the degree that they represented an improvement over other situations. They were satisfying, in comparison to another environment, when they contributed to increased perceptions of personal growth or professional accomplishment. They were satisfying, in comparison to other environments, when they contributed to increased recognition from clients. They were satisfying when they contributed to more congenial relations with clients and colleagues. They were satisfying to the extent that they allowed informants greater opportunity to do special things.

Elements of the work were expressed as dissatisfying to the extent that they represented a decline in satisfaction in comparison

to another environment. They were dissatisfying when they contributed to a loss of affiliative ties. They were expressed as dissatisfying when applied to situations in the United States in which these elements had restricted professional growth and accomplishment.

Nonmaterial Rewards

The nonmaterial rewards described within the context of overseas teaching centered on the level of expectations within the schools and on the nature of social interaction within the school environment. The degree to which the elements of the social life or expectations were expressed to be satisfying or dissatisfying was in relation to other school environments, generally those in the United States.

Relations with clients were generally described as satisfying because they represented improvements in terms of the quality and quantity of social contact. By getting to know the students and parents on a more personal level, informants felt that they increased their efficacy as teachers. They also perceived that they received more recognition for their work. They expressed satisfaction with the congeniality of the teacher-client contact. By interacting with students in nonacademic environments, informants perceived that the same rewards were present.

Relations with colleagues were described as more satisfying than in comparative environments because they were more personal and less formal. With supervisors, the personal nature of these relations

contributed to feelings of increased autonomy, increased recognition, and more congenial affiliation. Personal relationships with board and with administrators were described to make several informants feel that they had a personal role in the accomplishment of the school.

Expectations among parents, students, and teachers within the overseas schools were described to be focused on high academic achievement. This goal consensus was described as satisfying to the extent that it improved opportunities for achievement beyond what would be possible in other environments. The high level of expectations was also described to be satisfying because it represented a recognition of the value of education and teachers.

The size of the school and expatriate community, and the degree to which the school was the focus of community activities, were stated to be the most significant variables controlling intrinsic sources of job satisfaction. Informants correlated small schools and communities with an increased level and quality of social interaction between teachers and clients. When the school was the focus of community activity, the level and quality of the social interaction were perceived to be greater, resulting in significant satisfaction. In negative situations, increased teacher-client interaction and increased teacher visibility were described to raise levels of dissatisfaction.

The work environment was perceived by informants to contribute to satisfaction in many ways and to dissatisfaction in limited ways. The

findings reported in Chapter V suggested that some of the satisfaction was derived from the manner in which the American/International school environments matched the personality types that characterized the informants. In addition, the informants were, by definition, successful teachers. In finding success, it would be logical to assume that they have also found a considerable measure of satisfaction. The quality of the teachers and personality type may therefore explain the absence of significant dissatisfaction with the overseas work environment.

The satisfactory perceptions of teaching in the overseas work environment were made in comparison to informants' more negative perceptions of the work environment in the public schools of the United States. Those negative impressions were often based on past experience, which may not reflect accurately the current U.S. school environment. However, those perceptions were consistent with much of the literature on U.S. teaching reviewed in Chapter III. In the next chapter, the findings of this and the previous two chapters in the context of that research literature are reviewed.

CHAPTER VIII
OVERSEAS TEACHERS' JOB ATTITUDES IN THE CONTEXT OF
RESEARCH ON TEACHER JOB SATISFACTION IN THE UNITED STATES

This chapter is focused on the fourth research question of the study: To what extent were the factors perceived by the U.S.-recruited teachers as contributing to their positive and negative job attitudes about overseas work consistent with the propositions concerning job satisfaction and dissatisfaction for counterpart teachers in the United States? The propositions were presented at the end of Chapter III as a summary of the research in this area. The factors that influenced the informants' job satisfaction were presented in Chapters V, VI, and VII.

To address the final research question, each proposition is restated, and in the subsequent discussion the informants' descriptions of their overseas teaching experience is compared to U.S. teaching experience in the context of that proposition. Degrees to which the determinants of job satisfaction identified in each proposition are prevalent or absent in the overseas teaching environment were identified by the comparison. Proposition 1 and its subparts and Proposition 2 were drawn from the general research on job satisfaction and from the theoretical literature on job satisfaction

and motivation. Proposition 3 and its subparts reflected theoretical and applied research specifically focused on the occupation of teaching.

The study was not intended to be comparative, but the informants' descriptions of the positive and negative qualities of the work environment in American/International schools made it so. The informants assessed the satisfaction they received from the work on a relative basis; in relation to other overseas schools or, more commonly, in relation to schools they had served in the United States. This is consistent with Lortie's (1975) assertion that the only way a work culture can be evaluated is in relation to another. It is also consistent with the idea of equity as defined by Adams (1965). According to equity theory, work is satisfying to the extent that it represents improvements over the conditions in another job or job environment.

Proposition 1 and Subparts

Proposition 1

The research indicates that overall job satisfaction in teaching is the composite or product of many partial satisfiers and dissatisfiers which originate from three sources: the perceived rewards of the job itself, the perceived rewards arising from the context in which the work is done, and characteristics of the individual which determine the degree to which each facet is satisfying or dissatisfying.

In algebraic form this proposition could be stated as

$$[JS = i \; [Sj+Dj] \times (Sc+Dc) \times (PI)] \text{ where,}$$

JS = Job Satisfaction
S = Satisfiers
D = Dissatisfiers
P = Personality
J = Job
C = Context
I = Individual
i = interaction

This proposition was generally consistent with the informants' descriptions of their work and of the environment in which it took place. The major discrepancy was that in the American/International school communities described by the informants there was less distinction between the work and the work context (the environment external to the work) than would be common in the United States public schools. Several reasons for this have previously been described and a few of the more important ones are repeated. Housing and other services were often provided by the school. Because of the limited size and sophistication of many overseas communities, teachers spent a large proportion of their nonteaching time in contact with colleagues and clients. The job played a major role in the lives of many teachers.

Within this greater context, informants described many pleasant, or satisfying instances of accomplishment, autonomy, recognition, and congenial relations with clients and colleagues. They also described material rewards which were further sources of satisfaction. Some of

the material rewards were derived from the work-related environment; some were serendipitous. Furthermore, informants identified many ways in which the unique nature of many overseas school communities increased the likelihood that the satisfaction in the work and in work-related activities would be obtained.

There was also evidence that the informants' comments were consistent with the proposition that individual characteristics could modify job attitudes. The comments of the informants and their type profiles on the MBTI characterized the informants as persons who valued exposure to new ideas and experiences. Several informants described ways in which their age, their career stage, or other personal characteristics changed the way in which they perceived aspects of the overseas teaching experience.

As an overview, the informants' comments supported the conclusion that the proposition is as valid for overseas teaching as it was for teaching in the United States. The informants identified many rewards from the job which contributed to job satisfaction. The sources of the rewards were often found in the environment external to the work, but it was sometimes difficult to separate this environment from the work itself. Differences in individual values and other personal characteristics contributed to the degree of job satisfaction for different individuals.

Proposition 1A

The research indicates that there are five major
categories of intrinsic rewards which determine job
satisfaction:

1. rewards derived from a sense of personal achievement;

2. rewards derived from feelings of autonomy;

3. rewards derived from recognition for the work;

4. rewards derived from affiliation with others in
    doing the work; and

5. rewards derived from the perceived equity, relative
    to other work situations, of the psychic and material
    benefits received in exchange for the work.

Based on the informants' comments, this proposition was deemed as
valid for overseas teaching as it was for the U.S. teaching roles
reflected in the research which generated the proposition. Informants
described multiple examples of achievement, autonomy, recognition, and
affiliation rewards. They addressed many examples of the inequity of
rewards among various overseas schools.

Informants also identified inequities between the overseas
schools and schools in the United States. In fact, the differences
between the quality of the rewards in the overseas environment and the
quality of the rewards in the United States environment were a major
focus of the informant's comments.

Personal achievement

With regard to achievement, examples have been presented in the previous two chapters to show that the informants derived satisfaction from seeing students progress. The likelihood of finding this source of satisfaction in an overseas environment was perceived by informants to be higher than in the United States for several reasons.

Primarily, the quality of overseas students was perceived to be better. Students were characterized as more interested and more motivated. Second, discipline and other managerial problems that could restrict pupil progress were described as minimal in comparison to most U.S. schools. Third, the levels of parental and collegial support in the overseas schools were described as higher than in the United States. Fourth, an increased emphasis on the importance of academic excellence was generally attributed to the overseas schools.

Achievement for teachers in their overseas teaching roles was also attributed to the small size and informality common to many of the schools. Informants described satisfying programs they had conceived and developed in these schools. The small size of many of these schools increased the opportunities informants had to use ingenuity and individual talents in trying new things. Informality had a similar effect. It erased bureaucratic structures which informants felt would have impeded similar opportunities in the United States. Informality was perceived to enhance the level of

communication between teachers and administrators, thus allowing
informants to obtain the permission and resources necessary for
projects, with minimal delay or difficulty.

Feelings of autonomy

The informants provided many examples from their overseas work
experience which suggested that autonomy was also a source of
satisfaction and its absence a source of dissatisfaction. Primarily,
the informants described ways in which the small, informal environment
of many overseas schools enhanced feelings of autonomy beyond what
they would expect from schools in the United States. In small
schools, the informant was often the only teacher in a subject area or
grade level. As such, the informants felt they had more control over
the program. For small schools, the scope of administrator's
responsibilities was described as greater than would be the case in
the U.S. Informants perceived that this motivated the administration
to let the teachers share more in operational decisions.

The degree of autonomy represented by teacher input into
decision making was further enhanced by the informality common to many
of the schools. Informants perceived that the breakdown in social
barriers, which characterized most overseas settings to some degree,
carried over to the work environment. Many informants described their
relations with administrators as more collegial than they had
experienced in the United States. This was seen as increasing the

teachers' access to the administration and the board and allowing more teacher input.

The satisfaction derived from the autonomy found in such situations was emphasized when informants described their reactions to moving from small, informal situations, such as those described above, to larger, more rigidly structured schools. Such comments were most prevalent in reference to schools with above-average financial resources. After the autonomy the teachers had experienced in the small schools, they chafed at the control and role restriction they encountered in the larger, more bureaucratic institutions.

The situation described here is consistent with a theory attributed to Hersey and Blanchard (1979). Hersey and Blanchard suggested that mature workers who were willing and able should be treated differently than less mature workers. Mature workers should be managed by delegation of authority, while less mature workers should be managed with more managerial input. These informants stated that they thought they had been hired on the understanding that they were competent, and that they therefore expected to be treated as competent persons. The management style reflected by the administrators of more rigidly structed schools where informants were employed were perceived to be controlling and telling, styles which Hersey and Blanchard suggested were appropriate for immature workers, who were neither competent or willing to perform. The dissatisfaction expressed by the teachers in several such situations seemed to support the theory.

The situation was also consistent with the theory attributed to Homans (1950). Homans suggested that when norms of participation were established in a work environment, departure from the norms would threaten individual status within the work group. In the situations described, the norms of participation and autonomy established in the smaller schools were absent in the next work environment, and this change threatened the perceived status, or self-esteem, of the teachers.

Recognition for work

Consistent responses were also received with regard to the proposition that recognition was a major source of job satisfaction. Many of the informants gave examples of pleasant experiences during their overseas tenure which reflected this recognition. They described several ways in which the typical overseas teaching environment provided this recognition more readily than did environments which the literature and the informants' prior experiences suggested were typical of schools in the United States.

Several factors unique to many American/International school communities were instrumental in breaking down social barriers and in personalizing the relations between teachers and their clients to a greater extent than would be possible in the U.S. The personal nature of teacher-client relations facilitated feedback from parents with regard to the work the teachers were doing with students. Most of this feedback was characterized as positive and was therefore a source of added recognition.

The personalization of interaction influenced recognition in another way. Homans (1950) suggested that the more interaction an individual has outside his or her primary group, the greater will be his or her standing within that group. Many informants stated that, as teachers in the United States, their circle of acquaintances was considerably more restricted than it was in the overseas communities in which they worked. Overseas, the variety of people represented in the communities, and the limited social barriers and personalization of relations which made those people accessible, enhanced many informants' feelings of status, self-esteem, and self-respect. Personal self-esteem and status were included as a form of recognition in the definitions presented in Chapter I.

Informants generally perceived the professional status of teachers in the United States as low, a finding supported by the research. The clients of the overseas schools in this study were characterized as important and interesting people. Increased access to such people, on a personal level, was described as increasing the informants' feelings of importance or status as teachers.

The nature of the clientele affected feelings of recognition in still another way. The parents and students in the overseas schools were characterized by informants as more interested and more committed to education than were parents in the United States. The value they placed on education was perceived to reflect both on the individual

teachers and the teaching profession. The satisfaction expressed with regard to such recognition was highest with regard to some Asian and European parents, who expressed that value through social invitations and other overt acts.

The central role the American/International school played in many of the expatriate communities was described as another source of recognition. Informants suggested that this made the teachers much more visible and provided further opportunities for positive feedback from parents. Furthermore, such situations often made the teachers leaders or organizers of extra-curricular and community activities. These roles provided recognition in themselves and were also perceived to enhance the quality of recognition for work done in the classroom. The increased visibility was perceived to be a source of dissatisfaction when it interfered with privacy or when it made it difficult for the teachers to divorce themselves from problems in the community.

Affiliation with others

With regard to affiliation, the findings were also consistent with the proposition. Many informants indicated that the positive social interaction they found in the environment of the American/ International school communities was a source of satisfaction with their work. In fact, informants gave more attention to this source of satisfaction than to any other. They described characteristics,

common to many of the overseas communities, which they perceived could enhance the quality of professional and social interaction to a greater degree than would be probable in the United States.

The majority of those characteristics have already been identified in the discussions of achievement, autonomy, and recognition; the include the removal of social barriers, the increased teacher- client contact, and the commonalities in experiences and needs among teachers and parents. A similar set of characteristics was described to influence collegial relations. Informants characterized their relations with colleagues as more personal and less formal than they had experienced in the United States. They stated that the amount of time all teachers typically spent at school and the commonalities shared among all teachers increased the chances that the relationship would become more than just casual. Informants suggested that the personalization of these relationships contributed to satisfaction because it made for a more congenial working environment and because it opened channels for communication. It was also perceived to enhance the level of accomplishment and the degrees of recognition and autonomy that could be derived from the job.

This last statement emphasizes the degree to which achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliation are interrelated in the job context. Achievement is influenced considerably by recognition; many people need recognition as an indication that what they have

accomplished is worthwhile. Recognition is dependent on autonomy; unless an individual has some control over the work process, that individual can not take credit for the product. Autonomy, in turn, is dependent on the elements which determine affiliation rewards. Unless open channels for communication exist, the teacher input which determines that autonomy is impossible. Affiliation rewards were expressed to be greatest in a productive enterprise. Without some sort of achievement, the enterprise is, by definition, not productive.

Equity of benefits

In describing the amount of achievement, autonomy, recognition, or affiliation rewards found in their overseas work environment, the informants generally evaluated the worth of these qualities in comparison to their perceptions of other overseas schools or to schools in the United States. This suggests that perceptions of equity between one situation and another are major determinants of job satisfaction. Equity was the yardstick by which the informants measured the degree of satisfaction they received from any one determinant. As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, the most common method used by the informants to measure the relative satisfaction from any one determinant was in relation to perceptions of that determinant in the United States. The final part of the proposition would therefore seem to be consistent with the overseas situation.

Proposition 1A reexamined

The informants comments, together with the literature, suggested that the proposition may be incomplete. The intrinsic elements of job satisfaction were shown to exist in the overseas environment as well as the U.S. teaching environment, but it is doubtful that any one element existed in isolation. Each seemed to have some control over the degree to which the others are present.

The entire proposition is consistent with the overseas situation as far as it goes. Each of the rewards (achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliation) is a major determinant of job satisfaction. Furthermore, the degree to which each is perceived as satisfying is dependent on a comparison with other situations, what the literature describes as perceived equity. One further addition seems needed to reflect the interdependence of the four basic elements in the overseas situation. To be fully consistent with the findings the proposition might be better restated as follows:

Intrinsic satisfaction from teaching in an overseas school is a function of four interrelated products of the work experience: achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliation rewards. The degree to which each of these elements is present or absent in the work, as compared to the individual's perceptions of another work experience (the perceptions of equity), determines the degree to which intrinsic satisfaction will be found.

In algebraic form this could be stated as

JS = i (E x Ac x Au x R x Af] where:

JS = Job satisfaction
E = Perceived equity in comparison to other work
Ac = Achievement in the job
Au = Autonomy in the job
R = Recognition for the job
Af = Affiliation rewards associated with the job
i = interaction

The findings with regard to the importance of achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliation, suggested the variations of theories of needs fulfillment reviewed in Chapter II. The findings seem to best fit the ERG theory variation proposed by Alderfer (1969).

Three categories of needs were represented in Alderfer's theory: existence, relatedness, and growth. Proposition 1A was described to be consistent with ERG theory. Alderfer's "existence" needs can be equated with the satisfaction informants attributed to their salary, to their fringe benefits, and to the other material rewards which affected their quality of life. "Relatedness" needs can be equated to what was described in this study as affiliation needs. Achievement, autonomy, and recognition can all be equated with Alderfer's definition of "growth."

The propositions did not reflect a popular, though disputed, contention made by Herzberg (1966). Herzberg concluded that there were differences in the way intrinsic and extrinsic rewards affected job satisfaction. He stated that the intrinsic rewards found in the

work were generally powerful sources of job satisfaction, while the extrinsic rewards found in the context of the job were powerful sources of job dissatisfaction.

The findings supported the first part of this statement. Intrinsic rewards were identified by informants as major determinants of job satisfaction. However, as evidenced by the attitudes of informants who moved from smaller to larger schools, loss of intrinsic rewards were also determinants of dissatisfaction. The conclusion that intrinsic rewards are influential on both satisfaction and dissatisfaction is consistent with several of the studies cited in the literature review (Dunnett, Campbell, & Hakel, 1967; Friedlander, 1964; Wernimont, 1966).

The greatest concern expressed as a dissatisfaction with overseas teaching involved loss of ties with home. This would be difficult to categorize as either intrinsic or extrinsic within Herzberg's definitions. Perhaps a more useful distinction would be one suggested by the findings with regard to the "sources" and "determinants" of job satisfaction. Determinants of job satisfaction are the attitudinal qualities of achievement, autonomy, recognition, affiliation, and equity identified in Proposition 1A. Sources of job satisfaction are those elements found in the work environment which contribute to those attitudinal qualities.

Proposition 1B

> Research indicates that the major sources of job
> satisfaction in the context of teaching and other work
> in the United States can be categorized under six
> headings:
> 1. the nature of the work tasks,
> 2. the nature of the preparation for the work,
> 3. the nature of work supervision and evaluation,
> 4. the nature of the relationship with colleagues, and
> 6. the nature of the material rewards emanating from the
>   work.

There was less consistency between the findings for the overseas
schools and this proposition than there was between the findings and
Proposition 1A. Informants did pay significant attention to the
nature of supervision, the nature of collegial relations, and the
nature of client relations as determinants of their satisfaction with
overseas teaching. They also identified material benefits as a source
of satisfaction but with some qualifications. Little attention was
given to the nature of the work and less to the nature of preparation.

The nature of the work tasks

Only two aspects of the tasks associated with the work received
attention from the informants: the effect of routine in the tasks and
the size of the workload. There was some consensus that routine in

the tasks associated with the job could become a dissatisfying element. There was also a degree of consensus that changes in assignment or location were satisfying because they stimulated the teachers toward achievement.

Given the discussion of the personality type which characterized the majority of the informants and the informants' comments which supported their type profile, change would be satisfying for the informants, although it would not necessarily have the same effect on other individuals. Change or routine would therefore be individual moderators of satisfaction more than sources of satisfaction in themselves.

Informants generally expressed the belief that their involvement with the job in the American/International schools was generally greater than in their involvement with the schools in their U.S. teaching experience. This was generally described as a product of the satisfaction derived from seeing the students do well, from achievement. It generally was not perceived to be negative unless it interfered with other intrinsic needs: affiliation with family or the opportunities to make decisions about how to use spare time. The latter situation could be characterized as a loss of autonomy. Again, the context factor was a source of satisfaction only to the degree that it controlled the availability of the intrinsic satisfiers described earlier.

The nature of preparation for the work

With regard to preparation for the job as a major source of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, there were not enough comments on the subject to determine whether the informants were satisfied or dissatisfied in this regard. The literature review suggested that this deficiency was a source of dissatisfaction because it interfered with the teachers' ability to achieve in their jobs.

This may explain why the informants were not as concerned with this part of the work context as the literature suggests might be the case. All of the teachers were, by definition, successful. As such, they had found achievement rewards in their work, at least in the eyes of their supervisors. The lack of adequate preparation was therefore not a major concern, because it had not compromised the informants' achievement in the work.

The nature of supervisory relations

As with other collegial relations, the nature of administration and supervision in the American/International schools was described by informants as generally less formal and more personal than what informants perceived, or the literature suggested, were common for public schools in the United States. The reasons for this are the same reasons which explained the personal nature of client and collegial relations. The informants' perceptions were that the personal nature of professional relationships was an improvement over

the typical U.S. situation. This was described as a source of satisfaction because the relations enhanced achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliative rewards.

Some consensus was expressed by informants with regard to the ideal relationship between teacher and supervisor. In addition to the visibility, informality, and openness already described, the informants identified other attributes which they thought contributed to a satisfactory relationship. One said,

> supervisors in the school should have the same relationship with teachers as teachers do with students. They should help the teachers do a better job.

Similar comments were made by several informants and indicated that in terms of teacher satisfaction the supervisor should play a facilitative role, rather than a controlling one. This finding fits the situational leadership theory of Hersey and Blanchard (1977). Satisfaction in such a relationship would be derived from the teacher's sense of control or autonomy in the process. This feeling was made very clear in the earlier discussion of the dissatisfaction often found when teachers moved from small to large schools. Another informant stated,

> as far as supervision and evaluation, I think it is really important to supervise and find out what is going on in a classroom, to get involved. I don't know if evaluation is necessary every year, but it is necessary. When you get new people [in the school] it is important to get them on board. It is best [for the supervisor] to start from the premise: "I have a darn good staff; now what can I do to reinforce what they are doing."

This comment reinforces points made in the previous one and adds a bit more. The informants made a distinction between supervision and evaluation. Supervision was expected, and it was appreciated when it contributed to the teachers' efficacy: their sense of achievement. Evaluation was considered worthwhile, but it could not be the focus of the relationship without becoming a dissatisfying element. In such cases it infringed upon levels of autonomy.

The nature of relations with clients

The nature of relations with clients was thoroughly reviewed in the discussion of the intrinsic satisfiers in proposition 1A. The relations were perceived to be more personal and more frequent than what the informants felt would be common in United States public school environments. It was apparent that the informants perceived these context qualities to be highly influential on overseas teaching job satisfaction, not by themselves, but to the degree that they enabled the teacher to find one or more of the four classes of intrinsic satisfiers.

The nature of collegial relations

This too has been thoroughly covered in previous discussion. Collegial relations were characterized as more personal and more frequent than in the United States. Informants described several ways in which the nature of these relations could be sources of satisfaction with the work.

As an overview of all the interpersonal relations identified in Proposition 1B (collegial, client, and supervisory), the informants' comments suggested that the relations were determinants of satisfaction to the degree that they influenced the presence of the intrinsic satisfiers identified in Proposition 1A. They were not sources of satisfaction by themselves. What little attention was paid to the nature of the work indicated that the same might be true for this context factor.

The nature of the material rewards associated with the work

The nature of the material rewards directly associated with the job, salary and fringe benefits, were identified as important with regard to whether the informants were satisfied with their jobs or not. The informants' comments did not indicate that these immediate rewards fit into the pattern as modifiers of the four intrinsic rewards. However, the descriptions of serendipitous material rewards described earlier did. Several comments were made to indicate that the travel and cultural exposure which was derived from the context of the job represented personal growth to the informants, a form of achievement within the definition of that term as used for this study. Informants also indicated that the enhanced lifestyle found in the context of the job was a material reward that represented increased status, a form of recognition.

Proposition 1B reexamined

With regard to the degree to which this proposition was consistent with the findings for teachers in this study, two

generalizations can be made. First, with the possible exception of salary and benefits, context factors were probably only major sources of job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction to the degree that they determined the presence or absence of the intrinsic satisfiers described in Proposition 1A.

Second, the intrinsic factors of the job received much more attention from the informants as sources of satisfaction or dissatisfaction than did the material rewards from salary and benefits. This seemed to support a conclusion that the intrinsic qualities were the primary determinants of job satisfaction. This conclusion needs to be qualified with Vroom's (1982) observation that it is more socially acceptable to talk about intrinsic satisfiers than it is to talk about money.

Proposition 1C

The amount of job satisfaction derived from any source can vary with the individual worker. The most influential determinants of job satisfaction in an individual include both attitudinal characteristics (such as values, self-esteem, self-confidence, and need strength) and demographic or personal characteristics (such as sex, age, marital status, ability, and tenure on the job).

The informants descriptions of the overseas work culture and the aspects of that culture that were either satisfying or dissatisfying

to them, did not address attitudinal or personal characteristics to any significant degree. There were comments, however, that indicated that many of the informants held certain values that influenced their perceptions of what was satisfying in their work. The same was true with regard to indications of self-confidence. There were also indications that the degree of satisfaction for individuals could vary with age, with tenure on the job, and with marital status.

The MBTI results reflected one value among the informants which is relevant to the determination of their satisfaction with the work. The informants were characterized as valuing change and new experiences. The overseas work provided for these in many ways. For these individuals this value seemed to enhance the degree of satisfaction. For individuals with different values this might have mitigated that satisfaction.

An indication of the importance of self-esteem on satisfaction was identified by informants who described the feelings of self-esteem they derived from interacting with important people. Several informants stated that this contact made them feel better about themselves and their work.

Many informants described how, at the time they decided to go abroad, they were relatively naive about the realities of overseas life. Most stated that this lack of information was of minimal concern. Many described how their decision to go abroad was made on the spur of the moment.

People who seek change in ways that represent major adjustments in their lives, with little regard to the consequences and with minimal hesitation, can be characterized as self-confident risk takers. These attitudes may explain, in part, the considerable overall satisfaction the informants expressed with the unique qualities of their overseas jobs and the relatively small amount of dissatisfaction they associated with the hardships they sometimes found in their overseas life. Self-confidence and risk taking propensities are not typical characteristics of stateside teachers (Gillis, 1964). Whether these characteristics would be found in another sample of successful and satisfied teachers remains unanswered. However, these qualities seemed to be prevalent among this sample of overseas teachers.

Another value difference, which affected the job satisfaction of the informants, was unique to this study. All the teachers valued their ties with home. The degree that they could justify the breaks they made with these ties, and the degree they were able to compensate for those lost ties, was expressed as a major source of their overall satisfaction with the job. The moderating context factor expressed here might be labeled as the individual value placed on the negative trade-offs which the worker must accept for the positive qualities in the work.

No comments addressed sex or ability as modifiers of job satisfaction. However, age, and the responsibilities and needs that

vary with it, were described as moderating the degree to which informants found satisfaction in their work. This was commonly with reference to the issues of retirement and the expenses of college education for children.

The most noticeable of the characteristics common to the successful U.S.-recruited teachers was the predominance, among the informants, of teaching pairs. Given the descriptions of the extent to which the members of the teaching families needed to depend on each other, this predominance did not seem so surprising. If the overseas work is conceptualized as an extension of overseas life, as many of the informants suggest it should be, marital status can be seen as a moderator of the affiliative rewards for job satisfaction. It could also be perceived as a source of recognition.

As an review of the proposition, all three of these characteristics—job tenure, age, and marital status—seemed to have had an effect on the job satisfaction of the teachers in this study. The findings also indicated that certain values were influential on the degree of satisfaction the informants derived from their work. Because the examples were limited, the findings were somewhat inconclusive on the issue of value differences.

Proposition 2

The degree of job satisfaction derived from any source in the context of the work is primarily a function of three

factors: the degree to which the individual values and rewards or outcomes related to the source, the degree to which the expected rewards are realized, and the perceptions of the individual with regard to the appropriateness of the rewards. In algebraic form this proposition could be stated as

$$JS = i \ (VR \times RR \times AR) \text{ where}$$

    VR = value of the reward
    RR = realization of the reward
    AR = perceived appropriateness of the reward

Proposition 2 reflected the research on _how_ the sources of job satisfaction identified earlier determined the degree of job satisfaction for a given individual. The comments of the informants in the study only addressed this in a very limited way.

The effect that the first factor in the proposition (e.g., the valence of the rewards) had on the determination of job satisfaction was reflected to some degree in the informants' comments. Informants described how the material rewards from the job became relatively more important to them as their personal needs changed. They described their personal satisfaction with the opportunities for change and variety that the job and the job context offered. The degree to which the work was perceived as satisfying or dissatisfying can be seen as a function of these personal orientations.

With regard to the second factor (i.e., the degree to which the rewards were realized) the discussion suggested that the satisfaction

informants found in overseas teaching was due to the achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliation rewards they derived from sources in the overseas work environment. The comments supported the conclusion that all of these rewards were of significant importance to the informants and that the informants were generally able to realize each reward more readily than they perceived would be the case in U.S. public school environments.

To this extent the findings were consistent with the proposition. However, the findings reflected consensus among the informants, not individual attitudes. There was not enough information to determine, with any accuracy, which of these four characteristics of the job were most important for a given individual. In this respect the consistency with the proposition was limited.

The question of whether or not the informants perceived that the rewards were appropriate was not addressed. Relative to the informants' perceptions of the teaching norms in the United States, the degrees of achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliation rewards in the overseas situation were characterized as superior. In this sense, the rewards could be considered as more appropriate. The examples given with respect to recognition support this conclusion. Several informants made comments to the effect that, in the overseas environment, they thought teaching and teachers were given more recognition and respect than in the United States, and this was as it should be.

As a review of the proposition, the findings neither supported nor detracted from the validity of the proposition in any significant way. The comments of the informants simply did not address this issue in enough detail for any definitive conclusions.

Proposition 3 and Subparts

The research indicates that the primary work context determinants in regard to job satisfaction for public school teachers in the United States are a function of the nature of the job. Of specific importance are the following characteristics: the relation of the tasks to available resources, the efficacy of teacher preparation as related to job requirements, the nature of supervisory relationships, the nature of client relationships, and the nature of peer relationships.

This proposition was a restatement of proposition 1C with specific reference to teaching as opposed to other occupations. It served as an introduction to six subpropositions which described what research has suggested is the nature of these characteristics of teaching in the United States. In subsequent discussion, comparisons are made between the situation described in each subproposition and the nature of the corresponding overseas situation as described by the informants. As indicated in earlier discussion, there were significant differences between the descriptions of context factors in the two environments. There were corresponding differences in the way the two environments were perceived to affect job satisfaction.

Proposition 3A

The nature of the training for public school teaching
is characterized by extensive expectations and limited
resources.

There were major inconsistencies between this description of U.S.
public school teaching and the informants' descriptions of education
in most American/International schools. The inconsistencies were
found with regard to both of the identified factors: expectations and
resources.

Both teaching environments were characterized by extensive
expectations, but the nature of those expectations was different. The
nature of the expectations for U.S. public schools was characterized
by a variety of goals for the schools and consequent varieties of
roles for the teacher to fill. These role differences corresponded to
the range of abilities in the schools, the range of parental values
with regard to the importance of academic achievement, the range of
social goals imposed by society to address social inequity and other
problems, and the range of student behavior.

Expectations for the overseas schools were also high, but they
were focused on academics and were less likely to include the range of
social modification and rehabilitative efforts described with regard
to U.S. schools. There was generally a homogeneity of student

interest and parental support for the schools, which allowed the informants to concentrate on the academic expectations.

The differences in resources as well as expectations were addressed in the latter observation. Informants suggested that overall, the quality of available materials and facilities overseas was generally on a par with schools in the United States. In some cases the access to materials overseas was perceived to be significantly inferior. This was not perceived to be a significant problem with regard to job satisfaction, because the quality of the most important resources--parents, students, and colleagues--were perceived to be superior.

Because students were motivated and presented few management problems, the informants stated that they were able to effectively address academic expectations. The interest and support described as common to most parents were a further resource to the same end. The perceived capability and commitment of the informants' colleagues were perceived to be yet a further resource.

Many informants reported that their overseas schools had extensive extracurricular programs which required a considerable amount of time and energy. This constituted an expansion of the teachers' work role and the level of expectations for them. However, this role expansion was generally perceived by the informants not to be a problem, but to be a further resource capable of serving academic interests. By interacting with students in nonacademic environments

the informants felt they were better able to assess and address their students' academic needs. The amount of free time provided by household help in many of these communities, and the positive feedback from the community which made these activities rewarding in themselves, were other resources which informants perceived were unique to the environment.

In brief, the description of the level of resources and expectations for U.S. teaching was inconsistent with the informants' descriptions of overseas teaching. Expectations in both environments were high, but they were more focused in the overseas communities. Material resources to meet those expectations were about the same in each environment, but the human resources were perceived as superior in the American/International school communities.

Proposition 3B

    The nature of the training for public school teaching is
    characterized by irrelevance to the actual work experience
    resulting in a lack of teacher efficacy.

As indicated earlier in the discussion, the training of teachers was generally not addressed by the informants. What comments were made indicated that the informants felt they had learned more about teaching on the job than they had from their training. Only to this extent can the descriptions of the two environments be said to be consistent. Because informants were successful in their work, their concern with this aspect of efficacy would be minimal.

Proposition 3C

The nature of the relationship between public school teachers
and their supervisors is characterized by limited professional
or social contact, by a bureaucratic structure with rules and
regulations, by limited feedback for the teacher, and by
increasingly less collegiality.

There are major inconsistencies between the proposition and the
characterization offered by the informants from overseas schools.
Especially in the smaller overseas schools, there existed a degree of
informality which personalized professional contacts and increased the
degree of interaction between teacher and supervisor. The nature of
many expatriate communities was described to enhance the level of
social contact between the two groups. Informants suggested that this
social contact often resulted in the discussion of school affairs. In
this manner, it became professional contact. School was often
described as a major focus in the lives of both groups in many of the
communities, as a way of life as much as a job.

The structure of the overseas schools was characterized by
informants as less bureaucratic and less impersonal than that of U.S.
public schools. This was attributed to the small size common to most
overseas schools and to the absence of outside educational agencies.
Within such organizational structures, informants generally
characterized their relations with supervisors as personal and

informal. Collegiality, as characterized by informal interaction toward a common goal, was described as high. The major variable in determining the degree of collegiality in these relations was described to be the size of the school.

In sum, the research and findings were inconsistent in regard to this proposition. Informants generally found higher levels of professional and social contact, higher levels of collegiality, and greater opportunity for feedback overseas than the research indicated would be typically found in teaching in the United States. Rigid bureaucracies were perceived to be less prevalent overseas, especially in the smaller schools.

Proposition 3D

The relationship between public school teachers and their clientele is characterized by decreasing respect for teachers by both parents and students.

The findings were inconsistent with this proposition. In comparison to their perceptions and memories of U.S. teaching, informants described high levels of parental respect and support. This was partially attributed to the generally high levels of academic expectations among the clientele. It also was attributed to the cultural diversity found in many of the schools. The nature of social relationships common to many of the expatriate communities facilitated this support.

Proposition 3E

The relationship between public school teachers and their
colleagues is primarily characterized by professional
isolation.

There was little consistency between the findings and this
proposition. The informants' social relations with colleagues were
described to be much more prevalent than had been the case in their
U.S. experiences. This was perceived to carry over to the
professional environment. Many examples were also provided of
instances in which the overseas teachers found satisfaction in working
with colleagues on curricular and extra-curricular projects. The
interaction in the overseas schools was characterized by a degree of
informality, which facilitated input and feedback.

However, the differences between this proposition and informants'
experiences were less apparent than for other propositions. Although
contacts between teacher and administrator, and teacher and peers,
were described as more frequent than in the United States, the
overseas teachers described their in-classroom experiences as
relatively isolated from other adults. In review, the
proposition is inconsistent with the findings with regard to collegial
relations outside the classroom. It is consistent with the degree of
teacher isolation found inside the overseas classrooms.

The Propositions Reviewed

Several conclusions can be made about the consistency of the propositions with the job satisfaction of the informants in the American/International schools. Proposition 1 and its subparts represented the general research on job satisfaction across occupations in the United States. With regard to Proposition 1, concerning the general sources of job satisfaction, there was considerable consistency with the findings. The informants identified elements in the work environment and in the environment external to the work which they perceived were influential on their overall satisfaction with the job. They identified individual attitudes and other personal characteristics which influenced their perceptions of the job. The overall satisfaction of each individual with the job was perceived to be the composite of all of these influences. Several informants almost restated this proposition in saying that there were good and bad things about working overseas but the good things far outweighed the bad.

Proposition 1A was consistent with the findings, especially with regard to the intrinsic satisfiers identified within it. Virtually every feeling of pleasure or satisfaction expressed by the informants, with regard to either their work or work-related life, could be classified as an example of achievement, autonomy, recognition, or positive affiliation. When the work or the work environment threatened these feelings, dissatisfaction was expressed.

With regard to equity, the proposition was also consistent with the findings. The informants measured their relative satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the work in comparison to what they had experienced, or perceived to be the case, in other environments. The most commonly used point of comparison was teaching in the United States. The high level of overall satisfaction, generally expressed by informants with regard to overseas teaching, was a function of the degree to which the intrinsic satisfiers, and to a lesser degree the material satisfiers, were present. The presence or degree to which the satisfiers existed in the overseas environment was assessed in relation to the informants' perceptions of other environments.

Proposition 1B described the sources of job satisfaction in the work environment, as identified in general research on work attitudes. The distinction between "sources," as used here, and "determinants," as used in Proposition 1A, is important. The sources are environmental characteristics. The determinants are attitudes which those sources influence in a positive or negative direction.

Proposition 1B was less consistent with the findings than was Proposition 1A. The frequency with which interpersonal relationships with supervisors, clients, and colleagues were described as satisfying or dissatisfying indicated that these were major sources of the determinants of job satisfaction in the work environment. The nature of the material rewards received less attention, but enough to suggest

that this was also an important source of job satisfaction determinants.

The nature of the tasks associated with the work generally received attention only insofar as they represented interpersonal relationships with students. The nature of the work tasks in teaching might easily be confused with the descriptions of client relations, because the tasks in a service occupation such as teaching are generally interpersonal in nature. This might be a reason why this aspect of the environment was not frequently mentioned.

Furthermore, the frequency with which overseas teachers were forced to deal with discipline and with other management tasks not related to the goal of student progress was described as lower than in the United States. This aspect of teaching would therefore be less a source of dissatisfaction overseas than the research indicated was typical in the United States.

The nature of the preparation the informants received for the work was mentioned only infrequently and never as a significant source of dissatisfaction. Reasons why differences might exist between this situation and that described in the research were presented earlier.

Proposition 1C was consistent with the findings to the degree that the findings addressed individual characteristics. The informants identified several attitudes and other personal

characteristics which influenced their individual perceptions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Attitudinal differences among the teacher informants and between this group and other comparison populations were identified in this study.

The degree of consistency between Proposition 2 and the findings was difficult to determine. Although there were several comments from informants to support each of the three statements within the proposition, there was not enough information to support any conclusion.

Proposition 3 and its subparts reflected the research literature with regard to the sources of job satisfaction found in U.S. public schools. The characterization of those sources in the propositions was inconsistent with the findings for the work environment of the successful overseas teachers. The nature of the expectations, the nature of teacher-client relations, and the nature of the collegial relations described for the overseas schools were significantly different from what the research indicated were U.S. norms.

There are at least three possibilities for why these differences existed. The findings may reflect a limited or biased perspective: that of successful teachers who, in their success, have found satisfaction. The researcher's review of the literature may be incomplete or inaccurate, and the propositions may therefore not be representative of teaching in the United States. Barring one of the

above, the American/International school teaching environments may, in fact, have contained elements that made overall job satisfaction more likely than in the United States.

CHAPTER IX
SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter the more noteworthy findings of the study are
summarized and ways are suggested in which the findings might be
applied. The discussion is divided into three parts: findings with
regard to the qualities of the successful overseas teacher, findings
with regard to qualities of the overseas working and living situation
which influence job satisfaction, and implications of the study for
future research.

Qualities of the Successful Overseas Teacher

This study was focused on teachers who have found success in the
overseas teaching environment. In doing so three characteristics were
isolated which seem to be common to the group studied. These
characteristics may provide some assistance in identifying the type of
person who is likely to find success teaching in
American/International schools.

The findings suggested that the informants might be characterized
by some degree of exposure to foreign travel or foreign living that
was atypical of the general population of the United States. Although
the degree to which this exposure is atypical is difficult to
substantiate without further research, especially with regard to other

populations of teachers, it may explain partially the reasons why these individuals chose an overseas career and why they have adapted easily to the overseas lifestyle.

The strong correlation between successful teachers and teaching pairs suggests that adaptation to work in an American/International school may be facilitated when both members of the family are employed by the school. This suggestion was supported by many of the informants' comments. Three examples serve to illustrate the point:

Informants indicated that the adjustment period in a new environment was often difficult and that the family was a source of support during these times. With both members of the pair sharing similar hardships and working together to overcome them, the adjustment was eased.

Work in American/International schools was described by informants to play a major role in their lives. With both members of the teaching team actively involved in the school, this involvement was rewarding. As indicated by the informants, the shared experiences brought the family closer together.

The financial rewards of overseas work were generally described by the informants as superior to those found in United States teaching. This was less true for those informants who were not married to another teacher; in fact, dependence on one salary was described by some informants as a hardship. Given the difficulties

inherent in finding work in a foreign country without sponsorship, it does not seem surprising that the rewards of a guaranteed position for both members of the teaching pair were a source of satisfaction.

Another set of commonalities among the successful overseas teachers was the attitudinal orientations they shared with regard to the value of change, variety, and new experiences. This orientation was consonant with the results of the MBTI and was further substantiated by the reasons informants gave for why they went overseas and why they moved from one overseas location to another.

This attitudinal orientation is consistent with the characteristics of the job, as described by the informants. The job was characterized by high levels of transience for both staff and clientele. The locations of the schools were characterized as new and exotic in relation to what the informants had experienced at home. The operations of the schools were characterized by rapid changes and by opportunities to do new things. People whose personality thrived on change found satisfaction and success in the overseas work environment.

Many of the informants described their distaste for routine. In fact, a sense of adventure and need for variety pervaded the descriptions of the work given by these teachers. The existence of this characteristic among the informants is also supported by the MBTI results and by the informants' expressed excitement with travel. It

is supported by the belief among many informants that changing jobs every few years was advantageous. These characteristics of the informants seemed to be precursors to success in the overseas teaching environment.

If the relationship between success in the overseas environment and teaching pairs and previous overseas travel is valid, perhaps these characteristics should be incorporated into the selection process for future overseas teachers. The correlation between an intuitive orientation and success could be addressed not only in the selection process, but in efforts to supervise effectively the selected individuals. People should be selected who have a better chance to find success, and then an environment should be provided which would keep successful teachers happy, productive, and on the job. If overseas teachers need change to be satisfied and consequently to use their talents to the fullest, then perhaps opportunities for constructive variety in the form of changes in assignment, in the form of exchange programs, and in the form of assistance in mobility from one overseas school to another should be considered.

Qualities of the Living and Working Situation
Which Affect Job Satisfaction

In a study of interpersonal relations in organizations, Triandis (1967) suggested that students of organizational behavior could learn much from the study of international organizations for two reasons:

these organizations operated in many different environments and they were forced to adapt to procedures that varied from place to place, while doing essentially the same job. Triandis noted two advantages he believed the study of international organizations offered the researcher. First, the researcher's interest in and entry into the work environment were eased by the uniqueness of the situation. Second, the variables at which the researcher was looking often had a larger range within international organizations, which made it easier to detect significant relationships.

The current study seemed to support the conclusions made by Triandis. The uniqueness of the environment did seem to facilitate entry. A wide range of variables was described within a set of schools doing essentially the same job. The range of these variables was noted not only among the overseas schools, but in the informants' comparisons to similar institutions in the United States.

Among the variables which differentiated the degree of job satisfaction found in one overseas school as opposed to another, three stood out in the informants' descriptions as more important than the others. These were (a) the size of the school, (b) the role the school played in the community, and (c) the nature of the school's clientele. The informants most often differentiated the overseas schools from U.S. public schools on the same variables, and also with regard to certain climate variables: the quality of the interpersonal

relations in the schools, the level of expectations within the schools, and the degree to which work in the school was a focus of the teacher's life. A final set of variables, common to both comparisons, concerned the level of material rewards, both contracted and serendipitous, which the job provided.

As indicated earlier, the descriptions of the work were generally made in comparison to other situations, a fact which supports the contentions of the equity theorists of job satisfaction. For each of the variables listed above, the informants cited differing levels of satisfaction in different situations. These descriptions were consistent with Proposition 1A concerning the major determinants of job satisfaction: perceived equity in achievement, recognition, autonomy, and affiliation rewards.

Although some variation was described, the informants generally characterized overseas schools as smaller than the typical U.S. school. Even when a school was described as large--1,000 students or more--informants characterized it as small in the sense that it was independent of outside influences such as school districts, state boards, and federal courts. In effect, the governance of the schools was perceived by informants to be community based, and this was associated with smallness.

Informants correlated the small size of these schools with job satisfaction for several reasons, each of which was consistent with

Proposition 1A. Small schools were perceived to increase the opportunities for teachers to attempt new things, a form of achievement. Small size increased opportunities to interact with colleagues and clients thereby furthering affiliation rewards as well as recognition. Small size necessitated the sharing of responsibilities, thus increasing teacher autonomy. Small size was perceived to enhance the quality of interpersonal relations further enhancing affiliation.

The level to which these determinants were perceived to be present was a function of the comparative equity of the rewards between environments. In comparison to other schools, smaller schools were perceived to enable the teacher to more readily find sources of achievement, recognition, autonomy, and affiliation than were larger, more bureaucratic institutions. There were however trade-offs to these advantages. The primary costs of enhanced levels of job satisfaction were perceived to be decreased privacy, decreased amounts of free time, and decreased access to amenities and recreational opportunities not associated with the work. Depending on the relative importance the informants ascribed to these rewards and their negative trade-offs at a given point in time, the levels of expressed satisfaction varied.

The degree to which the schools played a central role in the overseas communities was perceived by informants to be another variable with significant influence on job satisfaction. When the

school served as a focal point for community social and recreational activities, it became a source for these same determinants of job satisfaction. In such situations teachers, were more apt to be involved in community leadership roles and these roles were a source of teacher achievement in themselves. In addition, the importance of the school to the community became a source of teacher recognition. In such situations, teachers were free to use their talents to create programs, a source of autonomy as well as achievement. In such situations, the increased interaction with the community enhanced affiliation rewards. The enhanced quality of teacher-client relations was perceived to have a positive effect on student performance, further contributing to feelings of teacher achievement.

The nature of the clientele in the overseas school community was perceived to be an important variable with regard to teacher job satisfaction. Overseas parents and students were typically described to value academic achievement. The focus on and respect for academic achievement was perceived to motivate student performance and in doing so provide a consequent sense of achievement for the teachers. It was perceived to enhance levels of teacher recognition and status, especially when coupled with cultural attitudes which gave teaching, as a profession, respect beyond what the informants felt was typical in the United States. Informants described many instances in which positive attitudes about education carried over to parental deference

to the teacher's expertise as a professional—a form not only of recognition, but of autonomy. Parental respect for education was also perceived to open channels for meaningful affiliation with interesting people.

The major differences identified by informants between overseas teaching and U.S. public school teaching concerned the same variables discussed in relation to the research on school climate: the quality of interpersonal relations, the level of expectations within the school, and the involvement of teachers with the job. All of these variables were perceived to be closely tied to job satisfaction.

Perhaps the most significant differences noted by informants between the two teaching environments concerned the quality of collegial and client relations. For the overseas schools, both were described as deeper and more personal. Some of the reasons why relationships contributed to job satisfaction were reported in the discussion of the size and role of the schools. Another variable influencing the quality of relations concerned the shared needs and experiences common to so many of the individuals in the overseas communities.

These shared needs and experiences were perceived by informants to break down social barriers which would have existed elsewhere. The breakdown contributed to feelings of status or recognition as well as to enhanced levels of affiliative rewards possible in the environment.

Related effects were noted by informants with regard to achievement, as represented by personal growth, and with regard to parental trust, a form of autonomy.

Expectations for academic achievement and for positive behavior in the schools were characterized by informants to be generally higher in the overseas school communities than is true in U.S. public school environments. This was perceived to be a reflection of the different nature of overseas schools' clientele. The level of expectations contributed to job satisfaction in several ways. It enhanced student performance and consequent teacher achievement rewards. It freed teachers from noninstructional duties such as discipline, thus increasing their autonomy in the use of time. Informants suggested that the limited concern with the negatives of discipline enhanced the affiliative rewards they could enjoy with their students and enhanced the quality of positive feedback or recognition which they received from students and from parents.

Another aspect of school climate identified by the informants as a significant variable in the determination of satisfaction concerned the levels of teacher involvement with and commitment to their work. Informants often stated that because of the personal nature of their contact with clients, because of the generally high level of student interest, and because of the limited nature of nonschool recreational activities, their work in the overseas schools became a much larger

part of their lives than it had been in their home country. They found some difficulty in distinguishing between work and nonwork activities. When the work experience was positive, as it was described to be in most situations, the phenomenon magnified the degree of satisfaction found in the job. If the situation was negative, dissatisfaction could be magnified. Increased involvement was also perceived to be dissatisfying to the extent that it interfered with informants' other needs and responsibilities.

The material rewards associated with the work were the final important variable in the determination of the informants' job satisfaction. Informants focused on two types of material rewards: the immediate rewards (e.g., salary) which were contracted and the serendipitous rewards (e.g., travel, cultural exposure, and servants) which were a byproduct of the work environment. The immediate rewards were satisfying to the extent that they represented an improvement over what the informants perceived were the norms in other work environments. The serendipitous rewards were satisfying in the same respect and to the same extent that they provided opportunities for personal growth and other intrinsic satisfiers.

From the informants' descriptions of the overseas school working environment, several conclusions seem reasonable. First, the informants in this study were, by definition, good teachers. If the goal of a school is to attract and retain the services of such people,

then it would seem logical to try and promote those elements of the work situation which the informants described as satisfying, to the extent that resources and other restrictions make this alternative possible.

Several relationships were noted between school size and job satisfaction. The qualities associated with job satisfaction in this context most frequently concerned autonomy, the quality of collegial and client relationships, and recognition. Dissatisfaction in this context was usually associated with depersonalization of these relationships and increased levels of specialization, which were perceived to result in the loss of affiliation rewards and a loss of autonomy.

With regard to teacher job satisfaction, these conclusions would seem to imply a need for collegial decision making with high levels of teacher input into that process. The informants found considerable satisfaction when the scope of their duties and responsibilities was widened, and dissatisfaction when it was restricted. These conclusions are consistent with the research, and indicate that the phenomenon may be true for teachers in all environments. The conclusions represent a justification for some sort of career ladder designed to widen the scope of the teachers' duties and thus encourage good teachers to remain in the classroom.

The conclusions also imply the need for efforts on the part of the schools' management to maximize informal contact among staff and

between staff and clients and to personalize both kinds of relationships. The informants identified several ways in which this personalization could carry over to increased student performance as well as to their satisfaction with the work.

In each of the previous two paragraphs there seem to be justifications for school-based management. In environments such as those described here, teacher input is less restricted by outside agencies or by levels of district bureaucracy. Furthermore, the teachers and parents share a common interest in, and responsibility for, school development focused on, and responsive to, the needs of the particular community.

The findings with regard to climate variables suggest several other management activities for administrative personnel who are interested in maximizing teacher job satisfaction in environments such as those described in this study. The levels of parental aspirations and parental respect for education are largely a function of the clientele of the schools, but school managers can attempt to cultivate such expectations. The informants' comments suggested that a well defined mission for the school is crucial to this end. An administrator can work with the staff and community to define that mission. Within that process, he or she can involve staff and parents, providing both with opportunities for achievement, autonomy, recognition, and affiliation rewards.

Informants found satisfaction in informal teacher-supervisory relationships, which they felt facilitated teacher input, administrative feedback, and collegial, as opposed to authoritive, relationships. These qualities could be labeled as degrees of autonomy, recognition, and affiliation respectively. In dealing with teachers, at least with the competent people described in this study, it would seem that an administrator who is interested in fostering teacher job satisfaction should attend to these qualities in the performance of supervisory responsibilities.

Informants indicated that when there was a personalization of their interaction with clients, they were more committed to their teaching and to the students. This personalization was perceived to be a product of increased contact between teachers and parents and between teachers and students in nonclassroom environments (in activities, community projects, etc.). This would seem to imply that efforts to facilitate faculty involvement in extra-curricular activities, and to facilitate positive teacher-client relationships in nonacademic settings, could pay dividends in terms of teacher satisfaction with the work and in terms of increased effectiveness in classroom instruction.

In summary, the conclusions suggest that, for this group of successful teachers in the overseas teaching environment, the nature of the work and of the living environment surrounding that work,

contributed to job satisfaction differently than did the elements of teaching in other environments. The determinants of job satisfaction were a function of the perceived equity between the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards derived from one work environment in comparison to another. The intrinsic rewards, broadly characterized as achievement, recognition, autonomy, and affiliation rewards, were the preeminent determinants of job satisfaction for the teachers in the study. The degree to which these qualities were absent in comparison to another environment determined dissatisfaction with that work environment. In the perception of the informants, the nature of the typical overseas teaching environment provided sources of these four classes of job-satisfaction determinants more readily than did other teaching environments, specifically those of public schools in the United States.

Implications for Further Research

The present study was exploratory, focusing on a school environment and a population of teachers who had previously received little or no attention. Because of these limitations few generalizations can be made without supporting research in related areas.

With regard to the qualities of the successful overseas teacher, it would seem logical to verify the intuitive orientations suggested by the MBTI results with a larger sample. Of specific interest might

be two questions: Do the intuitive orientations found in this limited sample of successful overseas teachers hold for a larger sample? How consistent are these intuitive preferences with a sample of teachers who have not found success in the overseas teaching environment?

A related set of research questions are suggested by the predominance of teaching pairs among the successful overseas teachers. To what extent are teaching pairs common to the set of all overseas teachers? To what extent are teachers who have not found success in the overseas environment members of teaching pairs? What qualities of the overseas work environment, if any, enable teaching pairs to more readily find success than teaching individuals in the same environment?

The findings suggested that the intuitive orientation is uncharacteristically common among the overseas teachers, in comparison to other teaching groups. That orientation may characterize successful teachers in other environments as well. Future researchers could investigate the degree to which intuitive and other orientations are prevalent among successful teachers in the U.S. Researchers could also conduct studies to determine the effects of routine and variety on job satisfaction among teachers in the United States.

All of the above possibilities address the issue of job satisfaction as it varies with individual differences. The research suggests that personality type, as measured on the MBTI or through

other methods such as interviews, may provide useful information with regard to one facet of the individual differences which affect job satisfaction. Since individual differences have traditionally been the most confounding of the variables in the determination of job satisfaction, further research using the concept of personality type would seem useful.

The present study, as well as the previous research reviewed in the study, suggest that the job of teaching in U.S. public schools is deficient with regard to several determinants of job satisfaction, in comparison to other work settings both in and out of teaching. Further research would seem useful to identify the causes of those deficiencies and to determine what strategies might be available to increase rewards from achievement, recognition, autonomy, and positive affiliation within the public school teaching environment. Perhaps the qualities identified as enhancing these rewards in the overseas environment might provide a good starting point for these efforts.

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Part I—Introduction
(Please fill out in pencil)

NAME _____ YEARS OVERSEAS _____

LOCATIONS OVERSEAS_____

AGE WHEN FIRST WENT OVERSEAS _____   MARRIED? _____

CHILDREN? _____ AGES? _____ WHERE BORN? _____

YEARS TEACHING IN U.S. _____ LOCATIONS _____

SUBJECTS TAUGHT _____

EDUCATIONAL DEGREES _____ MAJORS _____

PREVIOUS TRAVEL OR OVERSEAS LIVING PRIOR TO FIRST OVERSEAS
TEACHING JOB?_____

HOME IN U.S.? WHERE ID YOU LIVE AGES 6-16? _____

OTHER JOBS BESIDES TEACHING, BESIDES SUMMER JOBS? _____

_____

I.   PLEASE TELL ME HOW YOU FIRST HEARD ABOUT OVERSEAS TEACHING.
      DESCRIBE HOW YOU OBTAINED YOUR FIRST OVERSEAS TEACHING POSITION.

II.   WHAT PRECONCEPTIONS DID YOU HAVE RELATIVE TO YOUR FIRST OVERSEAS
      JOB IN REGARD TO BOTH THE WORKING AND LIVING SITUATION?

III. HOW WAS THE REALITY OF THE FIRST SITUATION DIFFERENT FROM WHAT
      YOU EXPECTED?

Part Two
(To be taped with as much detail as possible)

I. CAN YOU PLEASE DESCRIBE BRIEFLY THE SCHOOL AND LIVING SITUATIONS
IN THE SCHOOLS YOU HAVE WORKED IN OVERSEAS.

II. LOOKING BACK ON YOUR OVERSEAS TENURE, WHAT IS ONE OF THE MOST
POSITIVE LIVING OR WORKING EXPERIENCES YOU REMEMBER? PLEASE
DESCRIBE IT. WAS THERE ANY ASPECT OF LIVING OR WORKING OVERSEAS
THAT CONTRIBUTED TO MAKING IT POSITIVE? (Please start with
whatever comes to mind, but the following are some areas you
might want to consider for responses.)
   A. NATURE OF WORK
   B. PEOPLE
      1. AT WORK
      2. OUTSIDE WORK
      3. HOST COUNTRY
      4. THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS
   C. FAMILY (PERSONAL) SITUATIONS
      1. KIDS' SCHOOLING
      2. FAMILY ADJUSTMENT
      3. HOUSEHOLD (SERVANTS)
   D. TRAVEL
(PLEASE REPEAT THIS STEP AS MANY TIMES AS POSSIBLE. IF YOU
THINK OF POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES THAT WOULD FIT THIS
QUESTION AT ANY TIME DURING THE TAPING SESSION, PLEASE GO AHEAD
AND RELATE THEM, NO MATTER IF IT DOES NOT FIT WITH WHAT YOU ARE
RECOUNTING AT THAT POINT.)

III. LOOKING BACK ON YOUR OVERSEAS TENURE, WHAT IS ONE OF THE MOST
NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES YOU REMEMBER? PLEASE DESCRIBE IT. WAS
THERE ANYTHING IN THE LIVING OR WORKING SITUATION THAT MADE IT
NEGATIVE? (Please continue with additional examples using the
following prompts if they fit.)
   A. NATURE OF WORK
   B. PEOPLE
      1. AT WORK
      2. OUTSIDE WORK
      3. HOST COUNTRY
      4. THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS
   C. FAMILY (PERSONAL) SITUATIONS
      1. KIDS' SCHOOLING
      2. ADJUSTMENT
      3. HOUSEHOLD (SERVANTS)
   D. TRAVEL
(REPEATS)

IV. PLEASE BRIEFLY DESCRIBE YOUR PRESENT JOB. (Areas for possible description)
- A. WORK LOAD
- B. SCHOOL STRUCTURE
- C. SCHOOL CLIMATE
- D. EXTRA DUTIES
- E. SUPPORT FROM PARENTS/BOARD/STUDENTS/ADMINISTRATION
- F. RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY
- G. CLASS SIZE
- H. ADEQUACY OF SUPPLIES
- I. PAY
- J. ADVANCEMENT POSSIBILITIES

V. HOW DO YOU SPEND YOUR FREE TIME? (Considerations)
- A. FRIENDS
- B. ACTIVITIES
- C. HOBBIES AND RECREATION

VI. WHAT POSITIVE ELEMENTS DID YOU FIND IN ONE COUNTRY THAT WERE NOT AS PREVALENT IN ANOTHER? (Probes)
- A. IN WHAT WAYS WAS ONE COUNTRY BETTER THAN ANOTHER? (REPEATS)

VII. WHAT WOULD YOU SAY IS THE GREATEST DIFFERENCE FOR YOU BETWEEN TEACHING IN THE U.S. AND TEACHING OVERSEAS? (Things to consider)
- A. WORK LOAD
  1. CLASS SIZE
  2. AIDES/PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO
  3. EXTRA DUTIES
- B. SCHOOL CLIMATE
  1. EXPECTATIONS
  2. DEGREE OF COLLEGIALITY
  3. INVOLVEMENT
- C. SCHOOL STRUCTURE
  1. SIZE
  2. DEGREE OF FORMALITY
  3. RULES AND REGULATIONS
  4. PARENTAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL
- D. REWARDS
  1. RECOGNITION
  2. SUPPORT FROM PARENTS/BOARD/ADMINISTRATION
  3. OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT

VIII.   WHAT ARE YOUR FUTURE PLANS?

        A.   WHAT WOULD MAKE YOU WANT TO RETURN TO THE U.S.?
        B.   WHAT ARE SOME REASONS FOR STAYING OVERSEAS?
        C.   IF YOU WENT BACK TO THE U.S., WOULD YOU STAY IN
            TEACHING? WHAT FACTORS WOULD INFLUENCE THAT DECISION?

IX.   WHAT QUALITIES WOULD YOU LOOK FOR IN SELECTING A POTENTIALLY
        SUCCESSFUL TEACHER CANDIDATE FOR AN OVERSEAS TEACHING
        ENVIRONMENT?

X.   WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU GIVE TO A NEWLY-HIRED OVERSEAS TEACHER?

XI.   IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE I HAVEN'T ASKED YOU OR WE HAVEN'T TALKED
        ABOUT THAT YOU THINK WOULD HELP ONE UNDERSTAND THE CULTURE OF
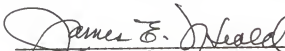   THE OVERSEAS TEACHER?

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Anthony Horton was born and raised in California. Following graduation from Grinnell College, Iowa, in 1965, he entered an internship program in elementary education at the Claremont Graduate School in Claremont, California. He taught elementary school for 4.5 years in the Claremont area, during which time he completed a master's degree in elementary school curriculum. He and his wife then accepted teaching contracts with the Joint Embassy School in Jakarta, Indonesia.

All of Mr. Horton's work experience since 1970 has been in two overseas schools. During one of the seven years he was on contract as a teacher to the Joint Embassy school, he spent a sabbatical year at Stanford University working toward his credential in educational administration. From 1977 to 1985 he served as principal and then superintendent of the Karachi American School in Karachi, Pakistan. From 1985 to present he has been a full-time doctoral candidate in educational administration at the University of Florida, Gainesville. Following graduation from Florida in the summer of 1987, Mr. Horton will begin duties as the director of the International Community School in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Mr. Horton is married to Nana Davis Horton, who also has extensive experience in the overseas schools. The Hortons have two children, both of whom have spent the majority of their lives abroad.
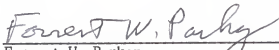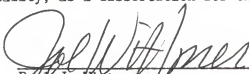
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

James E. Heald, Chairman
Professor of Educational Leadership

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Sandra B. Damico
Professor of Foundations of Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Forrest W. Parkay
Associate Professor of Educational Leadership

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Paul J. Wittmer
Professor of Counselor Education

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1987

David C. Smith
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